



# WORDS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE & TAMIL—LITERARY AND COLLOQUIAL

*By*

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### **Words and Their Significance**

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## FOREWORD

**Padmasri N. D. SUNDARAYADIVELU, M.A., L.T.,**  
*VICE-CHANCELLOR,*  
UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

I am happy to write this foreword to the twin works of Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, who held with distinction the Chair of Tamil in the University of Madras for about twenty-five years since 1936. Dr. R.P. Sethu Pillai had the rare distinction of being a great scholar and a distinguished writer and at the same time a patron of men of letters. His munificence found expression in the form of Tmt. Sornammal Endowment lectureship instituted in the University of Madras, besides other endowments he made elsewhere for the promotion of Tamil learning and for the welfare of Tamil people. That he was one of the select few, who were the recipients of the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters conferred by the Madras University during the centenary celebrations is an eloquent testimony to the great esteem in which he was held in academic circles and to the unique services rendered by him to the cause of Tamil language, Tamil people and Tamil culture. His scintillating speeches, illuminating lectures and scholarly writings, all in chaste sweet language, gave a fillip and a new turn to the arts of speaking and writing in Tamil. He made such a deep impact on his listeners and readers that a large cross section of the lay public, besides the learned, were made aware of the beauty and sweetness of their language, the antiquity and richness of their literature and sublimity and catholicity of their culture. True to his name, he served as a bridge between the past and the present, between one faith and another, between one region and another and between one language and another.

Even in the domain of Indo-European Linguistics which has received considerable attention over a longer period, Semantics has not received as much attention as Phonology and Morphology. Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai ventured into this uncharted ocean of Semantics and succeeded in giving us pearls collected from the Tamil sea in his 'Words and their significance' which forms the first part of this book. This appeared first in the Annals of Oriental Research Volume I, Parts 1 and 2 in 1943-44 and was later published by the University in 1953. This work attempts to find out how the significance of words has undergone changes in the course of centuries due to



historical, social, religious and other reasons. These changes have been analysed and given under the heads of restriction, expansion, degradation, elevation and variation of meanings. Subtle nuances of meaning in words of an allied nature have also been brought out by the author in a lucid manner in this work.

Part II of this book deals with 'Tamil-Literary and Colloquial' by the same author. This appeared first in the *Annals of Oriental Research* Volume II, Part 2 and volume III, Parts 1 and 2 published in the years 1944-46. The differences between the literary and colloquial forms have been treated under phonetic, grammatical and lexical heads. Words that have crept into Tamil from the Dutch, Portuguese, French, English, Arabic and other languages listed in this work reveal the receptivity of the living language that Tamil is.

The University has in recent years laid greater stress on publishing research works, translations of classical and standard works from Tamil into other languages and vice versa, endowment lectures delivered by eminent men in their respective fields and reprinting earlier publications. The University has been able, with the keen interest evinced by all concerned, to bring out during the past five years as many as 131 publications.

On the suggestion of Dr. N. Sanjeevi, Professor of Tamil, this book in two parts is now reprinted and made available to the scholars and students, particularly those engaged in the study of Dravidian linguistics. In the words of the author himself, "What academics have attempted elsewhere, has been temerarily touched upon in the present pioneer study, in the hope that the attention of scholars may be drawn to this vast field of study, which yet remains to be properly explored."

I hope and trust that ere long, the hope expressed by the author will stand vindicated and many more scholars will pursue the line of study initiated by him and contribute to the enrichment of Dravidian Linguistics.

Madras, }  
30-12-1974 }

(Sd.) N. D. SUNDARAVADIVELU,

(Vice-Chancellor).

## *CONTENTS*

Foreword	...	iii
<b>Padmasri N. D. Sundaravadivelu, M.A., L.T.,</b> Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras.		

### PART I WORDS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

Author's Foreword	...	i
Language and Culture	...	1
Diverse Changes in Semasiology	...	36
Discrimination of Synonyms	...	65
Works Referred to in this Book	...	77
Index	...	80

### PART II TAMIL—LITERARY AND COLLOQUIAL

Introduction	...	1
Phonetic	...	4
Grammatical	...	23
Lexical	...	32
Works Referred to in this Book	...	63
Index	...	64

## *ABBREVIATIONS*

A. Arabic.	Braz. Brazilian.
Chin. Chinese.	Dut. Dutch.
E. English.	F. French.
H. Hindustani.	Jap. Japanese.
K. Kanarese	Malay. Malay.
M. Malayalam	Mhr. Marathi.
P. Persian.	Port. Portuguese.
Skt. Sanskrit.	Syr. Syriac.
T. Telugu.	Ta. Tamil.
Tur. Turkish.	

PART - I

WORDS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

## *AUTHOR'S FOREWORD*

### *TO THE FIRST EDITION*

It has been aptly observed that language is both an art and a science. The aesthetics of language, the study of it as an art, as an expression of the human personality in its personal, individual, social, national and human aspects and as a means of communication of one's ideas, sentiments, aspirations, emotions and ideals is the legitimate province of literary criticism. Linguistics, on the other hand, is concerned with the mechanics of expression; with the classification and identification of its component sounds: with the study of the ways in which words get modified according to their function in the sentence; with the construction of the sentence: and finally with the study of the origin, growth and development of its vocabulary. In short, phonology, accidence, syntax and vocabulary are the four wheels of any scientific study of language.

The following pages are primarily concerned with the fourth aspect of linguistics, namely, vocabulary. Even in the study of the word-treasures of a language, there is more than one line of investigation. For instance, one may consider the origin of the words: whether they are native to the language or have been borrowed from some other tongue; if the latter, what modifications the word has undergone during the process of its naturalization in its new environment, and what general principles can be deduced therefrom. One, may again take for study, how the speakers of a language meet new needs and new experiences by coining new words out of the word material that has been their heritage. Or again, one may as the present writer has attempted, try to find out how the significances of words have undergone changes in the course of centuries.

Words are the current coin of a language. And as it happens in regard to coins, their value may fluctuate, the words may get worn out and debased in circulation, or they may even go out of currency. Words may be, in current polite usage, may be conversational only, may be scientific, may be dialectal. But, all these words are quite alive. There are, however, other words which are not so much alive,

which are a trifle old-fashioned, archaic, poetical, literary : or obsolescent, going gradually out of use, or even quite dead and buried, no longer in use.

Even a dead word, however, is interesting to a student of linguistics as the fossil of a pre-historic monster is interesting to a biologist. Just as the fossil throws light on earlier forms of life in this planet, so a word which is out of use, reveals the culture and thought processes of the people who used it. "Between the development of human civilization in general and the development of human speech in particular, there is a close connection which it is one of the objects of the Science of language to elucidate. Human civilization in all its manifold activities and in all its countless changes manifests itself only by means of words and by means of the expression of thought in language."\* If, therefore, language is the autobiography of the human race, nowhere is the character clearer than in the changes that have occurred in the meanings of words.

The study of changes of meaning in words is termed semantics; and this study had its greatest exponent in France. Since then this aspect of linguistics has received attention from scholars in various countries. The present attempt to introduce this line of investigation in the study of the Tamil language has been inspired by such works as those of Trench, Vendryes, Breal, Tucker, Kittridge and others. These Scholars had a tremendous advantage; they had ready to their hand, dictionaries in the various languages which gave the successive meanings of words according to the chronology of their usage. All that they had to do was to generalise from recorded data; there was no need for gathering material.

No such aid to the study of semantics exists for the student of Tamil. Therefore, the present study has been based on the author's personal reading. Examples have been culled from every century and every writer in order that the progress of a word may be charted down the course of Tamil literature. What academics have attempted else-where, has been temerarily touched upon in the present pioneer study, in the hope, that the attention of scholars may be drawn to this vast field of study which yet remains to be properly explored.

— R. P. SETHU PILLAI.

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\* E. Classen : Outlines of the History of the English Language.

## SECTION I.

### *Language and Culture*

Language has been characterised as 'fossil poetry.' "The beautiful thoughts and images, the imagination and feeling of past ages are preserved in words," says Trench. The language of South India is replete with such words.

In the Tamil land where agriculture has been the main occupation of the people from time immemorial, the gentle rain is hailed as the manifestation of Divine mercy. The rain-clouds rolling in the sky fill the hearts of princes and peasants alike with delight. The charming name *elili* (எழிலி) is given to the cloud 'big with the promise of fertilising showers.' *Elil* (எழில்)<sup>1</sup> is beauty and *elili* (எழிலி) denotes a 'thing of beauty.' It is remarkable that *mañju* (மஞ்சு), another word for the cloud, also means beauty.<sup>2</sup> The popular metaphor *mañju tavḷadal* (மஞ்சு தவழ்தல்) used with reference to the moving cloud, bears testimony to the poetic instinct of the peasantry.

The stars sparkling in the sky and the fishes darting through the waters have attracted the admiring gaze of our ancestors who employed the common term *min* (மீன்) to denote them. *Vaḍamīṇ* (வடமீன்) is the northern star; *Arumīṇ* (அறுமீன்) is the constellation of six stars; *Purai min* (புரைமீன்) is the top star, and so forth.<sup>4</sup> Possible confusion between the fish and the star is avoided by calling the latter *Viṇmīṇ* (விண்மீன்) or *Vāṇmīṇ* (வான்மீன்). "The word

1. எழிலி தானல்காதாகி விடின். திருக்குறள், 17.
2. ஏரும் வனப்பும எழிலும் .. .... அழகின் பெயர். பிங்கல நிகண்டு.
3. மஞ்சடை மணிநகு மாலை மண்டபம்-குளா. குமார. 17.
4. வடமீன்-அருந்ததி; தீதிலா வடமீனின் திறம்-சிலப், மங்கல. 27  
அறுமீன்-கார்த்திகை-பிங்கல நிகண்டு. புரைமீன்-உச்ச நட்சத்திரம், புரைமீன் கூடிய பொழுதியல். பெருங்கதை, உஞ்சை 39, 7. கைம்மீன், ஐம்மீன்-அத்தம்; நெய்மீன்-சித்திரை; மும்மீன்-மிருகசீரிடம்; கடை-மீன்-இரேவதி.

*mīṇ* has poetry in it” says Dr. Caldwell. “The root of *mīṇ* is ‘*miṇ*’ to glitter, to be phosphorescent, and ‘*mīṇ*’ a verbal noun which is formed from ‘*mīṇ*’ by the lengthening of the included vowel, signifies in poetical Tamil a star, as well as a fish. Who that has seen the phosphorescence flashing from every movement of the fish in tropical seas or lagoons at night, can doubt the appropriateness of denoting the fish that dart and sparkle through the waters, as well as the stars that sparkle in a midnight sky, by one and the same word, *viz.*, a word signifying that which glows or sparkles?”<sup>5</sup>

The imagery that inheres in the names of beasts and birds deserves our attention. The squirrel is a pretty creature of innocent pranks. The triple line, the smart tail, and the swift movements of the squirrel have always been a source of joy to young and old alike. The beauty of the lines on the back of this pretty creature, has inclined poets to trace the hand of Divinity in them.<sup>6</sup> The squirrel is denoted by term ‘*aṇil*’ (அணில்), derived from ‘*aṇi*’ (அணி)—beauty.

Again, the name of the peacock has arisen from the splendour of its lustrous feathers. The graceful dance of the peacock with its gorgeous feathers spread out like an arch, arrests attention and compels admiration. The splendid plumage being the distinctive feature of the peacock, the poetic name ‘*tōḥai*’ (தோகை) was conferred on it.<sup>7</sup> The colour of the plumage is signified by the word ‘*mā*’ (மா)<sup>8</sup> in ‘*mayil*’ (மயில்) which is the popular name of the peacock. The shining and foldable feathers were probably deemed by primitive people to serve a double purpose. They not merely enhanced its beauty, but served to protect it from the inclemencies of the weather. The termination ‘*il*’ (இல்) in ‘*mayil*,’ perhaps indicates the shelter which the feathers afforded the bird when necessary.

5. Caldwell's Comparative grammar, pp. 573, 574.

6. It is said that the squirrels contributed their quota of service to the construction of the mighty bridge, now known as Adam's Bridge, in which Rama was vitally interested and the loyal service rendered by them was acknowledged by a gentle pat of the Lord's hand. The three fingers of Rama which caressed their back are said to have left ineffacable lines, which serve to remind posterity of the timely service rendered by these tiny creatures and of the loving recognition accorded to it by the grateful Lord.—Ref. *Toṇḍaraḍippodi Āḷwār*—*Tirumālai*, 27.

7. Caldwell's Comparative grammar—Int. pp. 88-9.

8. மாயிரும் பீலி மணிநிற மஞ்ஞை-சிலப், மகேயறம், 37.



The distinctive feature of the parrot is its capacity to reproduce articulate sounds. This capacity is no doubt very limited but the absence of it in other birds makes it a conspicuous attribute of the parrot. The word 'kili' (கிலி) which denotes this bird, is derived from 'kila' (கிலா)-to speak-a root from which 'kilavi' (கிலவி) has originated.<sup>9</sup> The sweet speech of the parrot has always evoked the admiration of poets and the affection of women.

Poetry may be discovered in the place-names of South India. Amidst the dust and smoke of the city of Madras, poetry survives in the names of some of its suburbs. *Tiruvallikēṇi* corrupted into Triplicane, is a beautiful name. The original name of the place was 'allikkēṇi' (அல்லிக்கேணி)-i.e., Lotus-Tank. The prefix 'tiru' (திரு) which denotes sanctity, was attached to it and thus it became 'Tiru-valli-k-kēṇi' (திருவல்லிக்கேணி). It is obvious that the hamlet which grew round the sacred Lotus-Tank has been called after it. Several places in South India have been called after the tanks in the vicinity of which they have arisen. The place-names, *Peruṅguḷam* (பெருங்குளம்), *Pudu-k-kuḷam* (புதுக்குளம்), *Pāppāṅguḷam* (பாப்பாங்குளம்), etc., tell their own tale. The Lotus-Tank is a perennial source of inspiration to the poet. But the corrupt form, Triplicane, which has almost displaced the original name, is bereft of beauty and poetry. Similarly *Mayilai* (மயிலை) or *Mayilāṭṭūr* (மயிலாப்பூர்)<sup>10</sup> the place of beautiful peacock, is instinct with poetry, *Elumūr* (எழுமூர்)<sup>11</sup> which literally means the rising place, corrupted into *Elumbūr* (எழும்பூர்)<sup>12</sup> and Egmore, now forms the main gate-way of the city.

A hamlet on the banks of the *Kāvēri* was named *Mayil-ādu-turai* (மயிலாடுதுறை)<sup>13</sup> a word which at once raises in our mind, the picture of the dancing peacock and its lovely plumage. This picturesque

9. அளியதாமே சிறுபசுங் கிலியே

குழலும் யாழும் அமிழ்தும் குழைத்ததின்

மழலைக் கிளவிக்கு வருந்தின. சிலப். மனையறம், 57-59.

10. தேவாரம் (திருஞான சம்பந்தர்) மயிலாப்பூர்த்திருப்பதிகம்; மங்குல் மதிதவழு மாடவீதி மயிலாப்பிலுள்ளார் (திருநாவுக்கரசர், கோயில் திருத்தாண்டகம்)

11. பெரிய நாட்டு மடம் சாசனம்-சோமசுந்தராதேசிகர், செந்தமிழ், 29, பக். 146.

12. Cf. āmūr-āmbūr; kōtumai-kōtumbai; urumu-urumbu (Mal.).

13. தேவாரம் (திருஞானசம்பந்தர், திருநாவுக்கரசர்)-மயிலாடுதுறைத் திருப்பதிகம்.

name was translated into Sanskrit as *Mayūrapuram*; then changed into *Mayūravaram*,<sup>14</sup> and ultimately corrupted into *Māyavaram*.

The Tamil vocabulary furnishes numerous instances of “faded metaphors” which bear the marks of ancient wisdom. “We fail to recognise them, partly from long familiarity with them, partly from insufficient knowledge, partly, it may be, from never having had our attention called to them.”<sup>15</sup> The word *nūl* (நூல்) for instance, which signifies a treatise on art or science, is a beautiful metaphor, drawn from the art of spinning. A perception of the resemblance between the work of the spinner and that of the poet has led to the adoption of the term *nūl* (நூல்) to the finished literary product.<sup>16</sup> The spinner operates on the spindle; the poet operates on his imagination. The spinner draws fine yarn out of a bunch of cotton; the poet draws exquisite filaments of thoughts and images from his language. The humming sound of the spinning-wheel fills the heart of the spinner with joy; the music of the verse entralls the poet.

It is probable that *Nūl* originally denoted only metrical composition, which formed the bulk of ancient Tamil Literature. It was however extended in course of time, to every treatise in verse or prose. It is remarkable that three treatises on Tamil Grammar bear the names *Nannūl* (நன்னூல்), *Cinnūl*, (சின்னூல்), and *Tonnūl* (தொன்னூல்). Kamban seems to suggest the genesis of the word *Nūl*, when he says in the apologetic preface to his great epic ‘நெய்தின் நெய்யச் சொல் நூற்கலுற்றேன்’<sup>17</sup> “I have entered upon the stupendous task of spinning an epic out of the very scanty words at my command.”

*Kūḍu* (கூடு) is used in poetry with reference to the human body.<sup>18</sup> It is obvious that the metaphor is drawn from bird-life. The mortal coil is discarded by the soul just as the nest (*Kūḍu*) which shelters the bird and enables it to propagate its species, is abandoned by it at will. Fraser observes “Often the soul is conceived as a bird ready to take flight. This conception has probably left traces in most languages, and it lingers as a metaphor in poetry. But what is metaphor to a modern

14. P and V are interchangeable in Tamil—(Paṇḍi-Vaṇḍi; Apayam-Avayam; Vaccaṇāpi-Paccaṇāvi).

15. The study of words (Trench)—P. 46.

16. நன்னூல்-பொதுப்பரிசு, 24; இறைபரைகப் பொருள் உரை, ப. 12-13.

17. கம்பராமாயணம், பாயிரம், 8.

18. கூடலான் கூடாயினுள்-சிலப். வழக்குரை-வெண்பா.

European poet was sober earnest to his savage ancestor and is still so to many people.”<sup>19</sup>

The poetic instinct of the ancient Tamil race is reflected in the terms that the grammarians have chosen to employ for denoting the vowels and consonants of the Tamil alphabet. The vowel is known as *uyir-eluttu* (உயிர் எழுத்து) and the consonant *mey-eluttu* (மெய் எழுத்து). This nomenclature is based upon a perception of the nature of the two classes of sounds in the Tamil phonetic system. The vowel-consonant, which as the name indicates is a product of the combination of vowel and consonant, is called *uyir-mey* (உயிர்மெய்), the animated body. This graceful metaphor has called forth the appreciation of “the father of Dravidian Philology.”<sup>20</sup>

The terms that denote the sexes in Tamil are indicative of their distinctive characteristics. *Āṇmai* (ஆண்மை) - manhood, is derived from the verbal base *ā!* (ஆள்) which connotes strength or power and *Peṇmai* (பெண்மை)—womanhood, is derived from the root *pe!* (பெள்) which signifies love or beauty. This view is confirmed by the fact that *maindaṇ* (மைந்தன்) and *āḍavaṇ* (ஆடவன்) denote the possession of strength<sup>21</sup> and *pūvai* (பூவை) and *kārihai* (காரிகை) signify the possession of physical charms.<sup>22</sup> “Beauty in women and heroism in men were mutual attractions and cements of love between lovers in the palmy days of the Tamil Country.”<sup>23</sup>

A perception of the resemblance between the tender creeper and the young girl has given rise to exquisite metaphors. *Valli* (வல்லி) and its variant *vaḷḷi* (வள்ளி) and *koḍi* (கொடி) are poetical names for the tender girl. The maturity or puberty attained by the girl is signified by the expressive metaphor *pūppu* (பூப்பு) — bloom.<sup>24</sup> The ancient Tamils considered that the physical charms of virtuous maidens attracted the attention of virile men, even as the natural beauty of the

19. Golden Bough—Part II, pp. 33-4.

20. Caldwell's Comparative grammar, p. 132.

21. மைந்தன் (மைந்து-வலிமை). மகிழ்ச்சியின் மைந்துறும் போழ்து—திருக்குறள், 539. ஆடவன்-(ஆள்)-ஆண்மகன். Tamil Lexicon.

22. பூவை-perh. பூ-(பூ-7 beauty, charm)—Tamil Lexicon. காரிகை-கண்ணிறைந்த காரிகை-திருக்குறள், 1272.

23. Critical Studies in Kuraḷ, p. 19.

24. பூப்பின் புறப்பா டிராறு நாளும்-தொல். பொருள், 187.

fragrant flowers attracted the humming bees.<sup>25</sup> Fragrance is denoted by the term *maṇam* (மணம்) and *maṇallal*<sup>26</sup> means the act of enjoying fragrance. It is significant that the happy union of man and woman is denoted by the term *maṇam* (மணம்).

Marriage was not looked upon as an end in itself; it was only a means to an end. The analogy therefore is carried beyond the stage of matrimony. The offspring are cherished as the fruits of wedded love<sup>27</sup> and hence abortion is denoted by the term *kāy* (காய்),<sup>28</sup> i. e., unripe fruit. These beautiful metaphors testify to the poetic sense of the ancient Tamils.

The high level of moral excellence attained by the Tamil community is attested by the synonyms *uṇmai* (உண்மை) *vāymai* (வாய்மை) and *meymmāi* (மெய்ம்மை) which are obviously related to thought, word and deed. *Uṇmai* (உண்மை) derived from the root *uḷ* (உள்) literally means the quality of the mind. Similarly the words *vāymai* (வாய்மை) and *meymmāi* (மெய்ம்மை) are abstract nouns derived from *vāy* (வாய்) and *mey* (மெய்) and signify the quality of the tongue and the quality of the body respectively. The derivation of these terms clearly indicates that honesty in thought, word and action was considered to be of the essence of virtuous life, in the ancient unsophisticated society. Truth was regarded as the fountain of honour and was the index of an unsullied mind.<sup>29</sup> The expression *mey-p-poru!* (மெய்ப் பொருள்) used with reference to the Lord, indicates that there is no religion higher than truth.<sup>30</sup>

The destructive character of evil is clearly expressed by the term *tīmai* (தீமை) which literally means the 'quality of fire.' The etymological sense of the word is suggested in the couplet :

25. வண்டோரணையர் ஆடவர் பூவோரணையர் மகளிர்-இறையனாகப் பொரு  
ளுரை-ப. 181.

பெண்டிற் றலம்பெளவித் தண்சாரற் றுதுண்ணும்

வண்டிற்றுற்பான் மலை-கலித்தொகை; உரை, ப. 234, அடிக்குறிப்பைப் பார்க்க.

26. திருந்திழைமென்றோள் மணந்தவன்-கலித். 131.

27. மங்கல மென்ப மனைமாட்சி மற்றதன்

நன்கல னன்மக்கட் பேறு-திருக்குறள், 60.

28. *Kāy*—aborted foetus; *kāy-viḷutal*—கருச்சிதைந்து விழுதல். — Tamil Lexicon.

29. அகந்தூய்மை வாய்மையாற் காணப்படும். திருக்குறள், 298.

30. கற்றிண்டு மெய்ப்பொருள் கண்டார்—திருக்குறள், 356.

தீயவை தீய பயத்தலாற் றீயவை  
தீயினு மஞ்சப் படும்<sup>31</sup>

“Evil is dreaded more than fire, since evils new from evils ever grow.” The Pāṇḍya king who caused the innocent Kōvalan to be murdered, is characterised as *Ti-vēndan* (தி வேந்தன்)<sup>32</sup>—the evil king-by Kaṇṇahi. When in a state of intense agony, she directed the god of fire to destroy the city which had become the den of evil, she referred to the wicked section thereof as *ti-ttirattār* (தித்திறத்தார்).<sup>33</sup> *Tittiram* (தித்திறம்) is the opposite of *narrirram* (நற்றிறம்)<sup>34</sup>. The nature of evil disclosed by the term *tīmai* (தீமை) may be described in the words of Milton:

“But evil on itself shall back recoil,  
And mix no more with goodness, when at last  
Gathered like scum, and settled to itself,  
It shall be in eternal restless change  
Self-fed and self-consumed.”<sup>35</sup>

The word *kaṇ* (கண்) which denotes the organ of vision, has formed the basis of several significant terms expressive of human feelings. The eye is said to be the index of the emotions surging in the human mind. *In-kaṇ* (இன்கண்) is expressive of delight; *Pun-kaṇ* (புன்கண்) is expressive of distress; *Taru-kaṇ* (தறுகண்) denotes cruelty and *uru-kaṇ* (உறுகண்) denotes affliction.<sup>36</sup> The abstract noun, *kaṇmai* (கண்மை) derived from *kaṇ* (கண்) signifies compassion.<sup>37</sup> Contact between the human mind and the external world is established chiefly through the eye. The world is for the most part filled with misery and distress, and the mind is moved by the pathos of life conveyed through the eye. Tears are the visible signs of the mind moved by distress. Hence sympathy is regarded as the natural quality of the

31. திருக்குறள், 202.

32. திவேந்தன் தனைக்கண்டு இத்திறங்கேட்பல்-சிலப், ஊர்குழி, 71.

33. தீத்திறத்தார் பக்கமே சேர்க-சிலப், வஞ்சின, 55.

34. நற்றிறம் படராக்கொற்கை வேந்தே-சிலப், வழக்குரை, 66.

35. Comus, 593-97.

36. இன்கண்—இன்கண் உடைத்து அவர் பார்வல்—திருக்குறள், 1152.

புன்கண்—புள்ளுறு புன்கண் தீர்த்தோன்—சிலப், வழக்குரை, 52.

தறுகண்—பேராண்மை யென்ப தறுகண்—திருக்குறள், 773.

உறுகண்—உறுகணும்பல்—தொல—பொருள், 239.

அலக்கண், இருக்கண், பழங்கண் = துன்பம் ; வன்கண் = கொடுமை.

37. பிங்கல நிகண்டு.

eye. It has been said that the eye devoid of sympathy is unworthy of the name.<sup>38</sup> *Kaṇṇōṭṭam* (கண்ணோட்டம்) which literally means sight or glance has acquired the sense of kindness.<sup>39</sup> The expression *kaṇ-pārttal* (கண் பார்த்தல்) denotes sympathetic attitude. Similarly *kaḍai-k-kaṇittal* (கடைக்கணித்தல்)—glancing with the corner of the eye<sup>40</sup>—connotes a favourable disposition. *Pura-k-kaṇittal* (புறக்கணித்தல்), on the other hand, denotes neglect.

In the primitive state of society in South India, the steel yard known as *Tulakkōl* (துலாக்கோல்) served the purpose of the modern balance. The normal position of the steel yard was called *saman* (சமன்) or *naḍu-nilai* (நடுநிலை) and this position was ascertained by holding the instrument aloft by a string attached to it. When a commodity was put into the scale-pan suspended at one end of the steel yard for the purpose of determining its weight, the string was adjusted until the instrument resumed its normal position. Thus by the simple process of balancing the steel yard, the weight of a commodity was ascertained. The act of suspending the weighing instrument by the string is known as *eḍuttal* (எடுத்தல்) or *tūkkal* (தூக்கல்). Thus the words *eḍai* (எடை) and *tūkku* (தூக்கு)<sup>42</sup> used by vendors of commodities are reminiscent of the old practice of suspending the steel yard. The act of balancing is called *nirūttal* (நிறுத்தல்) or *nirai* (நிறை).

These terms have been metaphorically applied to the conditions of the mind. *Naḍu nilai* (நடுநிலை) denotes impartiality or uprightness. A dispassionate consideration of the pros and cons of a question is denoted by the term *tūkkal* (தூக்கல்).<sup>43</sup> A comparison of merits or values is signified by the expression *cir-tūkkal* (சீர் தூக்கல்)<sup>44</sup>. Integrity is denoted by the term *nirai* (நிறை).<sup>45</sup>

38. கண்ணோட்ட மில்லவர் கண்ணிலர்—திருக்குறள், 577.

39. திருக்குறள்—அதி, 58.

40. கடைக்கண் = கடாட்சம் < kaṭākṣa (Skt.).

41. சமன்செய்து சீர் தூக்கும் கோல்—திருக்குறள், 118.

42. A *tūkku* ordinarily signifies a weight equal to hundred palams—Tamil Lexicon.

43. வினைவலியும் தன்வலியும் மாற்றான் வலியும்  
துணைவலியும் தூக்கிச் செயல்—திருக்குறள், 471.

44. மன்னனும் மாசறக் கற்றேனும் சீர் தூக்கின்—முதுரை. 26.

45. அறிவொடு நிறையே ஒர்ப்புக்கடைப்பிடி குணநான்காமே —குடாமணி  
நிகண்டு.

The images inherent in the words *cemmai* (செம்மை)—straightness, and *koḍumai* (கொடுமை)—crookedness, form the bases of significant moral concepts.<sup>46</sup> In the moral sphere *cemmai* (செம்மை) signifies good and *koḍumai* (கொடுமை) denotes evil. *Ceppam* (செப்பம்) derived from *cemmai* (செம்மை) indicates uprightness<sup>47</sup> and *kōṭṭam* (கோட்டம்) derived from *koḍumai* (கொடுமை) signifies moral perversity. The king who rules the country with a straight sceptre is styled *ceṅḡōlan* (செங்கோலன்)<sup>48</sup> and the tyrant who rules the country with a crooked sceptre is called *koḍuṅḡōlan* (கொடுங்கோலன்). Benevolent administration is *ceṅḡōṇmai* (செங்கோன்மை) and tyranny is *koḍuṅḡōmai* (கொடுங்கோன்மை). “It is better,” says the poet, “to live in jungles infested with ferocious tigers than to live under a king who rules with a crooked sceptre.”<sup>49</sup> The standard language of South India which is free from irregularities and which has well-defined grammatical boundaries is known as *Centamiḷ* (செந்தமிழ்) and the dialect of Tamil which is replete with grammatical and idiomatic irregularities is called *Koḍuntamiḷ* (கொடுந்தமிழ்).<sup>50</sup> The expression *cemboruḷ* (செம்பொருள்)<sup>51</sup> used with reference to the Supreme Being signifies His absolute impartiality and justice.

The original sense of the word *kōḍu* (கோடு) derived from *koḍumai* (கொடுமை) is an oblique or curved line. It is significant that *kōḍu* (கோடு) stands for several objects that are irregular in shape or form. The branch of a tree and the bank of a river; the horn and the hill; the chank and the crescent moon are some of the objects denoted by the term. In modern usage, however, *kōḍu* (கோடு) means generally a line and a straight line is called *nēr kōḍu* (நேர் கோடு), which is etymologically a contradiction in terms.

The distinction between *Aham* (அகம்) - within - and *Puṇam* (புறம்) —without—is fundamental in South Indian thought and forms the basis of primary classification in Tamil Literature. “The idea of within and without,” says Vendryes, “is expressed in most Indo-European languages.”

46. Cf. the Roman conception of good and evil—“What is good: that which goes straight and in order; what is crooked becomes the symbol of all perversity.” (Semantics by Breal p. 123).

47. சொற்கோட்ட மில்லது செப்பம்—திருக்குறள், 119.

48. செம்மனத்தான் தண்ணளியான் செங்கோலான்—நள—சுயம்வர. 46.

49. கொடுங்கோல் மன்னன் ஆனும் நாட்டிற்கும்புலிவாழும்காடு நன்றே.

50. *Koḍuntamiḷ* is used by Beschi in the sense of the colloquial dialect of Tamil.

51. சிறப்பென்னும் செம்பொருள்—திருக்குறள், 358.

ages by the contrast of house and field. This reveals a social condition in which the entire family was lodged in the same house, and where the outer door marked the boundary of the family dominion.<sup>52</sup> In Tamil, *ahattāṇ* (அகத்தான்) and *ahamuḍaiyāṇ* (அகமுடையான்) denote the master of the house; *Ahattā!* (அகத்தார்) and *ahamuḍaiyā!* (அகமுடையார்)<sup>53</sup> the mistress of the house. *Purattāṇ* (புறத்தான்)<sup>54</sup> -outsider-is the opposite of *ahattāṇ*. *Ahappadūtal* (அகப்படுதல்)<sup>55</sup> is the act of getting in and *purappadūtal* (புறப்படுதல்) is the act of getting out; *Ahappahai* (அகப்பகை) is internal enmity and *purappahai* (புறப்பகை) is external enmity. In the world of flowers, distinction is drawn between *aha ita!* (அக இதழ்) and *pura ita!* (புற இதழ்). In the world of plants *aha-k-kā!* (அகக்காழ்) is distinguished from *pura-k-kā!* (புறக்காழ்).<sup>56</sup> In the world of religion, distinction is drawn between *aha-c-camayam* (அகச்சமயம்) and *pura-c-camayam* (புறச்சமயம்).

All the activities of mankind have been brought under this classification in Tamil Literature. Love, furtive and wedded, forms the theme of *ahapporu!* (அகப்பொருள்). War and other external activities of man form the subject-matter of *purapporu!* (புறப்பொருள்).

In primitive society there was perhaps no place for neutrality. The old saying "He that is not with me is against me" is probably illustrated by the words which denote amity and enmity in Tamil. *Cērṇār* (சேர்ந்தார்), *Kūḍiṇār* (கூடினார்), *onriṇār* (ஒன்றினார்), *pulliṇār* (புல்லினார்) are words which contain the sense of adherence, and denote friends. *Cērār* (சேரார்), *kūḍār* (கூடார்), *onrār* (ஒன்றார்), *pullār* (புல்லார்) are words which carry the idea of separation and denote enemies. It is significant that the word *ayalāṇ* (அயலான்) denotes a stranger as well as an enemy.<sup>57</sup>

The distinction between the mind and the body is also expressed by the terms *Aham* and *Puram*. As the mind was supposed to dwell

52. Language, p. 210.

53. *Āmbaḍayāṇ* (Husband) and *āmbaḍayā!* (wife) are corruptions of *ahamuḍayāṇ* and *ahamuḍayā!*.

54. *Purattiyāṇ* (புறத்தியான்)—Stranger—is a corruption of *purattāṇ*.

55. *Ahāppadūtal* is commonly used to denote 'the act of being caught or entangled'—(அகப்பட்டவர் கிடந்துமுல் அகப்பட்டவர் நீரே)

56. புறக்காழனவே புல்லென மொழிப  
அகக்காழனவே மரமென மொழிப-தொல். பொருள். 640.

57. அயலார் ஊரில் அஞ்சிலே ஒன்றை வைத்தான். கம்ப, காப்பு. 7.



inside the body it was denoted by the terms *uḷ* (உள்), *uḷḷam* (உள்ளம்) and *aham* (அகம்); and the body was called *puṛam* (புறம்). *Aham-tūymai* (அகம் தூய்மை) is purity of the mind and *puṛam-tūymai* (புறம் தூய்மை) is purity of the body.<sup>58</sup> *Aham* and *puṛam* are also used in the restricted sense of breast<sup>58a</sup> and back. The expression *Puraṅgūṭṭal* (புறங்கூட்டல்) signifies discomfiture as turning the back to the enemy is a sign of acknowledging defeat. Thus it will be seen that the distinction between *Aham* and *Puram* has influenced the whole range of Tamil thought.

The classification of humanity into *mākkaḷ* (மாக்கள்) and *makkaḷ* (மக்கள்) testifies to the high level of intellectual life attained by the ancient Tamil society. The animate world is divided into six classes in *Tolkāppiyam*, on the basis of the sensory organs of living creatures.<sup>59</sup> From the plant-life endowed with one sense, to the animal life gifted with five senses, different categories of life exist which have been duly recognised and arranged in the ancient Tamil grammar.<sup>60</sup> The distinctive feature of humanity is the possession of the sixth sense, viz., the sense of the mind or reason. Hence the section of humanity in which the sense of the mind is not awakened is placed in the category of beasts. In literary usage, *makkaḷ* denotes rational beings and *mākkaḷ* signifies human beings devoid of reason. This distinction has been adopted in the classification of nouns in the Tamil Grammar. "Dravidian nouns are divided into two classes, which Tamil grammarians denote by the technical terms of 'high-caste' (உயர் திணை) and 'casteless' (அ. திணை) nouns. 'High-caste' nouns are those which denote "the celestial and infernal deities and human beings (மக்கள்) or briefly, all things endowed with reason. The other class of nouns called 'casteless,' includes every thing which is destitute of reason whether animate or inanimate. This classification of nouns though not so imaginative as that of Indo-European and Semitic tongues, is decidedly more philosophical."<sup>61</sup>

There are common terms in colloquial Tamil which seems to show that the ancient Tamils were acquainted with the structure and functions of the vocal organs. The term *Kural-vaḷai* (குரல்வளை)

58. திருக்குறள், 298.

58a. Tamil Lexicon.

59. தொல். பொருள். 582.

60. தொல். பொருள். 587, 588.

61. Caldwell's Comparative grammar, p. 220.

corrupted into *Kuda-vaṭai* (குதவளை) literally means voice-curve. It designates the projection of the larynx which contains the vocal chords.<sup>61a</sup> "The current of air expelled by the lungs while causing the vocal chords to vibrate gives rise to the voice." A correct knowledge of the position and function of the vocal chords in the mechanism of speech has included the early Tamils to designate the projection of the larynx, popularly known as Adam's apple by a term which is expressive of its essential function. It is significant that *caṅgu* (சங்கு) which denotes the conch-shell is metaphorically applied to the human throat.

In the popular dialect of the South, saliva is denoted by the term *tuppu-nīr* (துப்பு நீர்). *Tuppu* (துப்பு) is an obsolete word used in Tamil poetry in the sense of 'food'. It is possible that an appreciation of the part played by saliva in the assimilation of food has led to the adoption of this name.<sup>62</sup>

The predominantly agricultural character of the Tamil country is reflected in the variety of terms relating to water-pools. A natural pond is *poṭṭhai* (பெய்கை); a natural spring is *ūrpu* (ஊற்று); a tank of small size is *kēṇi* (கேணி); a tank of medium size is *kuḷam* (குளம்); a rain-fed tank is *vāṇḍa-māri-k-kuḷam* (வானமாரிக்குளம்), corrupted into *māṇḍa-māri-k-kuḷam* (மானாமாரிக்குளம்); a tank of big size or lake is *ēri* (ஏரி); a tank in the hilly tract is *cuṇai* (சுளை); a tank of great depth is *kayam* (கயம்); a tank situated in the midst of a hamlet in which water is stored for drinking purposes is *ūruṇi* (ஊருணி).<sup>63</sup> The names of villages terminating in *ēri* and *kuḷam* are additional proof of the primary occupation of the people of South India.<sup>64</sup>

61a. Tamil Lexicon.

62. Salivary digestion results in an almost complete alteration of the starch into dextrose and maltose. Principles of Human Physiology—Starling—p.528. The final semi-vowel in *tuppu-nīr* is elided in pronunciation.

Cf. *Vennīr* (வென்றீர்) > *Venni* (வென்றி)

*Taṇṇīr* (தண்ணீர்) > *Taṇṇi* (தண்ணி)

*Iḷanīr* (இளநீர்) > *Iḷani* (இளநி)

*Padanīr* (பதநீர்) > *Padani* (பதநி) or *Padini* (பதநி).

63. Besides these, *paḍu* (படு) and *maḍu* (மடு); *vāvi* (வாவி) and *ilaṇḍi* (இலஞ்சி); *taḍam* (தடம்) and *kuṭṭam* (குட்டம்) are used with reference to different kinds of tanks.

64. *Nāṇḍuṇḍēri*, (நாங்குணேரி), *Pāḷaṇḍēri* (பாக்கேணி), *Peruṇḍuḷam* (பெருங்குளம்), *Ceṇḍuḷam* (செங்குளம்).

The large number of metaphors drawn from plant-life furnishes striking evidence of the charming natural scenery in the midst of which the primitive people of this country lived. *Muḷai* (முளை) and *kiḷai* (கிளை); *talai* (தழை) and *Kūlai* (குழை); *malar* (மலர்) and *alar* (அலர்); *koḍi* (கொடி) and *kombu* (கொம்பு); *kāy* (காய்) and *kaṇi* (கனி) are drawn from the terminology of plant-life and metaphorically applied to denote objects relating to human life. *Kāṇmuḷai* (கான்முளை) is off-spring; *Kiḷaijñar* (கிளைஞர்) is relation; *Talaittal* (தழைத்தல்) is exuberance; *kuḷaittal* (குழைத்தல்) is waving; *malarcci* (மலர்ச்சி) is cheerfulness, *Alar* (அலர்) is widespread rumour; *Pūṅgoḍi* (பூங்கொடி) and *pūṅgombu* (பூங்கொம்பு) denote the tender girl; *Kāy* (காய்) is failure and *kaṇi* (கனி) is success. This list is not exhaustive but only illustrative.

The pre-eminent place assigned to agricultural occupation in the social economy of South India is discernible in certain expressions consecrated by literary usage. The plough in ancient times was cherished as the symbol of prosperity. The tiller who handled the plough was considered a greater benefactor than the warrior who wielded the lance. Hence the brilliant lancer is styled *aiyil ulavaṇ* (அயில் உழவன்)<sup>65</sup> which literally means the plough-man of the lance. Similarly *vāḷi-ulavaṇ* (வாள் உழவன்)<sup>66</sup> is used with reference to the soldier wielding the sword. Tiruvalluvar has chosen to characterise the poets as *col-ēr-ulavar* (சொல் ஏருழவர்) and the archers as *vil-ēr-ulavar* (வில் ஏருழவர்).<sup>67</sup> These expressions employed by poets of great eminence afford striking evidence of the profound respect in which the ploughman was held in the palmy days of the Tamil land.

The words denoting the diverse operations connected with agriculture have acquired remarkable significance in the moral and social spheres of life. *Kaḷaital* (களைதல்)-removal, owes its origin to the practice of removing weeds (களை) which impede the growth of the seedlings. *Viḷaiyu* (விளைவு) in the sense of result or consequence is obviously related to *viḷaiyu!* (விளையுள்) or *viḷaiyu* (விளைவு), which signifies agricultural produce. *Tūrrutal* (தூற்றுதல்) in the sense of broadcast, probably owes its significance to the act of casting to the winds the corn mixed with chaff and straw at the threshing floor in order to

65. சிங். 2261.

66. வாளுழவன் = வாள்வீரன் (Tamil Lexicon), படைவீரன் (திவாகரம்), தாளைத் தலைவன் (குடாமணி நிகண்டு).

67. திருக்குறள், 872.

separate them.<sup>68</sup> *Vēḷāṇmai* (வேளாண்மை) which denotes cultivation has acquired the sense of hospitality.<sup>69</sup>

The climatic conditions of the Tamil country are conducive to simplicity in dress. The barks of trees and the hides of animals generally formed the material of primitive human dress. An old poem speaks of sages clad in *cīrai* (சீரை)-bark, and *urivai* (உரிவை)-skin.<sup>70</sup> *Cīlai* (சீலை), a term now restricted to the apparel of women is probably a variant of *cīrai*.<sup>71</sup> *Sītā* is said to have dressed herself in *cīrai* (சீரை) when she followed her lord in his exile.<sup>72</sup> *Puṭavai* (புடவை) or *Puḍavai* (புடைவை) another word signifying the long cloth worn by women, seems to have originated in Malaināḍ. *Puda* (புத) in Malayāḷam means to cover.<sup>73</sup> The expression *Pudaiyirul* (புதையிருள்) in Cilappadihāram signifies enveloping or shrouding darkness. *Pudai* (புதை) in the sense of cover, is according to the classical commentator of *Cilappadihāram*, a dialect of Malaināḍ (Malayāḷam).<sup>74</sup> *Pudappu* (புதப்பு) a verbal noun derived from *Puda*, denotes a covering or blanket in Malayāḷam.<sup>75</sup> *Pudavai* (புதவை) may be formed from the same root by the addition of another suffix of the verbal noun. It is probable that *Pudavai* (புதவை) has changed into *Puṭavai* (புடவை) by the substitution of the cerebral for the medial dental.<sup>76</sup> It is significant that the presentation of the *Puṭavai* to the bride constitutes the essence of the marriage ceremony in Malabar. *Puṭava Koṭa* (புடவகொட) commonly corrupted into *Puṭakoṭa* (புட கொட) which literally means the gift of *Puṭava* or cloth, still forms an essential feature in the Malabar marriage.

It is probable that the original form of *Tukil* (துகில்) - cloth - was *tuyil* (துயில்). The literal sense of *Tuyil* - (tuy-cotton) is cotton

68. காற்றுள்ளபேரதே தூற்றிக்கொள்-பழமொழி.

69. திருக்குறள், 81.

70. சீரை தைஇய உருக்கையர்-திருமுரு. 126. மானின் உரிவை தைஇய ஊன் கெடு மார்பு-திருமுரு. 129.

71. r and l are interchangeable in Tamil. It is also possible that *cēlai* and *cīlai* are corruptions of the Skt. *cēla*.

72. சீரை சுற்றித் திருமகள் பின்செல-கம்ப. நகர் நீங்கு. 234.

73. Final a (அ) of Malayalam becomes ai (ஐ) in Tamil; hence *Puda* (Ma)—*Pudai* (Ta)

74. புதைத்தல்=பேர்த்தல்-மலைநாட்டு வழக்கு-சிலப். இந்திர. 4, அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் உரை.

75. Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary.

76. Cf. *Padāhai* (பதாசை); *Paḍāhai* (படாசை).

fabric.<sup>77</sup> In Malayāḷam *tuyil* signifies cotton cloth.<sup>78</sup> A place in South India noted for the manufacture of *tuyil* (துயில்) came to be called *Tuyili* (துயிலி). It is curious that *tuyili* is now used to designate the cloth of a particular texture woven at the place called *Tuyili*. The analogous history of the cloth known as *Koranād* may be considered in this connection. *Koranād* is a corruption of *Kūrāi-nāḍu* (கூரை நாடு) - a place where cloth is manufactured. The term *Koranād*, however, now denotes a particular pattern of cloth manufactured at *Kornād* in the vicinity of Mayavaram.

*Tuyil* (துயில்) has become *tukil* (துகில்) by the change of the medial 'y' (ய) into 'k' (க) - a change which does not militate against the phonetic tendencies of the Dravidian Languages.<sup>79</sup> It is natural that *tukil* (துகில்) which primarily denoted white cotton cloth was later extended to coloured cotton fabrics.<sup>80</sup>

The origin of Jewellery may perhaps be sought in the devices adopted by primitive men to ward off influence of evil spirits, which were supposed to be responsible for most of the diseases of the human body and mind. Propitiation by periodical sacrifices was one of the modes of appeasing their wrath and the additional device of avoiding their evil influence by the spell of magical incantation was also widely adopted. The invisible spirits were deemed to be subject to the control of some mystic letters or symbols, the import of which was known only to the initiated few. The mystic symbols were inscribed on a scroll of palm-leaf, attached to a thread or string, and tied round the waist, wrist, ankle or other parts of the body. As these appendages served the purpose of resisting the evil influence of the unseen powers, they were known as *taḍaiyam* (தடையம்), *taḍai* - obstruction, a word which still signifies jewellery in the speech of the South Indian peasantry. In course of time, the threads or strings to which the amulets were attached came to be made of glittering metals and the

77. துய்=பஞ்ச-துய்த்தலை மந்திரைப-புறநா. 158.

78. Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary.

79. Vaiyai-vaikai (vaihai)

Ellai-Elkai (Elhai)

Vāyil (doorway)-Vākili (T), Bāgil (K), Bākil (Tu); Ūliyam (service)-ūḍigamu (T), ūḷiga (K).

80. கோபத்தன்ன தோயாப் பூந்துகில்-திருமுரு. 15.

scroll of palm-leaf bearing the mystic symbols was enclosed in metallic cases.<sup>81</sup>

This view of the origin of jewellery receives confirmation from the primary sense of the word *pūṇ* (பூண்) which signifies ornament in poetry. The metallic ring or cap which serves to keep the ends of a thing intact, is commonly known as *pūṇ*.<sup>82</sup> The wooden pestle for instance, used for the purpose of pounding corn, is usually fitted with a ferrule (*pūṇ*) to protect it against wear and tear. The futility of endeavouring to preserve a thing which is by nature perishable, is expressed in the familiar saying

‘வெள்ளரிப் பழத்துக்குப் பூண் பிடித்தால் ஆகுமா’

“can the cucumber fruit be preserved by metallic bands?”<sup>83</sup> Thus it will be seen that the original purpose of *pūṇ* (பூண்) was to protect the wearer against the influence of evil powers. The jewel called *aimbaḍai* (ஐம்படை) five weapons, seems to establish this point beyond the possibility of a doubt. “The gold pendant worn by children in a necklace, bearing in relief the five weapons of Viṣṇu as an amulet”<sup>84</sup> is known as *aimbaḍai*. It is probable that the weapons of Viṣṇu are embossed on the jewel as He is the God of protection in Hindu mythology.

The origin of the term *Kāppu* (காப்பு)<sup>85</sup>-bangle-may be considered in this connection. *Kāppu* is derived from the root ‘*kā*’ (to protect). The ceremony of invocation to the deity to protect a child is known as *kāppidutal* (காப்பிடுதல்). A string dyed with saffron is tied round the wrist of the child on the occasion. The expression *kāppu-nāṇ* (காப்பு நாண்) signifies the string of protection tied round the wrist of persons participating in ceremonial functions. The significance of the

81. “Very frequently men have fastened round their upper arm the Nōmbu-kayiru (sacred cord) attached to which is the Tyayathu, holding the copper plate with mantrams (spells) engraved on them”--The Personal ornaments of the Madras--M. C. C. M. Sept. 1913.
82. பூண்-உலக்கை தடி முதலியவற்றின் முனையிற் செறித்த வளையம்.-Tamil Lexicon.
83. The secondary sense of *pūṇ* is armour--See Tamil Lexicon.
84. ஐம்படைச் சதங்கை சாத்தி, பெரியபுராணம், தடுத்தாட். 4.  
For the meaning of *aimbaḍai*, refer to Tamil Lexicon.
85. காரொடு தொடுத்த காப்புக்கலன்புனை ஆரைஞாண்-பெரியபுராணம், கண். 21.

term *kāppu-nāṇ* is expressed in the tragic words addressed to Kaikēsi by the King Dasaratha, "Let the string of your neck (*tāli*) serve as the string of protection for your son (*Bharatā*)."<sup>86</sup>

The waist-band known as *arai-nāṇ* (அரை நாண்)<sup>87</sup> literally means the waist string. The devaluation of *nāṇ* due to semantic wear and tear, has led to the addition of the work *koḍi* (கொடி) to *arai-nāṇ* in the popular dialect. *Arai-nāṇ-koḍi* (அரை நாண் கொடி) has been corrupted into *aranākkōḍi* (அரநாக்கொடி). To this waist-cord a talisman is sometimes attached.

The names of some of the jewels still worn by women in South India seem to disclose their original purpose. A jewel worn on the ear-lobes of women is known as *muḍiccu* (முடிச்சு)-i.e., knot.<sup>88</sup> In ancient times, knots have been used as amulets in different parts of the world.<sup>89</sup> The ancient Assyrians seem to have made much use of knotted cords as a remedy for ailments and diseases. In Russia amulets often derived their protective power in great measure from knots. In Ceylon the Singhalese peasants use the knot as 'Goigote' to prevent the devils from diminishing the quantity of corn heaped on the threshing floor during the harvest. With regard to the efficacy of the knot as an amulet, Fraser observes, "The precise mode in which the virtue of the knot is supposed to take effect in some of the instances does not clearly appear. But in general we may say that in all the cases we have been considering, the leading characteristics of the magic knot or lock is, that, in strict accordance with its physical nature, it always acts as an impediment, hindrance or obstacle and that its influence is maleficent or beneficent according as the thing which it impedes or hinders is good or evil."<sup>90</sup>

86. கழுத்தின் நாணுன் மகற்குக் காப்பின் நாணும் என்றான்-கம்ப. நகர் நீங்கு. 49.

87. செம்பொன்னாண் அரையில் மின்ன-பெரியபுராணம், தடுத்தாட். 4.

88. Another jewel worn round the neck is called *muḍiccu-k-kārai* (முடிச்சுக் காறை). It has a number of large metal beads strung on the band and attached to the front side, so as to lie beneath the chin under which it is fastened.—The Personal ornaments of the Madras; M. G. C. M., September, 1913.

89. See Fraser's 'Golden Bough' Part II, ch. 5, Sec. 11.

90. Golden Bough, Part II, pp. 309-10.

There is reason to believe that most of these primitive appendages consisted of threads and strings.<sup>91</sup> The most significant jewel of the married woman—the *taḷi*—was originally a simple thread to which probably a knot was attached. The name *nūl* (நூல்) by which *tāli* is known reveals its primitive quality. The deprivation of this thread marks the commencement of widowhood.<sup>92</sup> It is significant that the word *iḷai* (இழை) denotes a thread as well as a jewel.

With the discovery of metals, rings made of iron came to be used as amulets against demons, witches and ghosts. The ring is known as *āḷi* (ஆழி). The etymological significance of the word, perhaps indicates the purpose for which the ring was originally devised. *Āḷi* (ஆழி) is derived from the root '*ali* (அழி) - to destroy. The purpose of destroying the maleficent influence of the evil spirits is perhaps denoted by this term.<sup>93</sup> The practice of wearing iron rings on the fingers and toes is still common in South India. The fourth finger from the thumb is popularly known as the ring-finger. A consideration of the extensive use of iron rings in the ancient world as a charm for banning ghosts and other dangerous spirits has led Fraser to make the following observation. "How far the custom of wearing finger rings, bracelets and anklets may have been influenced by or even have sprung from a belief in their efficacy as amulets to keep the soul in the body or demons out of it, is a question worth considering."<sup>94</sup>

It may not be too much to hope that the import of words *taḍayam*, *pūṇ*, and *iḷai* which denote the jewel in general, and of the terms *kāṇṇu*, *nūl*, *muḍiccu* and *āḷi*, which signify particular jewels, may give us a clue to discover the origin of jewellery.

The instinct of self-preservation must have induced primitive man to devise tools and implements. "When primitive man-Homo-primigenius-first stumbled against a stone or hit his head against the overhanging bough of a tree, and instead of wasting his impotent rage in pounding the offensive stone to dust or tearing that bough to shreds,

91. The jewel consisting of three or more strings of plaited gold is known as *miṇ-nūl* (மின்னூல்)—M. C. C. M. Sept.

92. நூற்றுவந்தம் பெண்டிரும் எய்தி நூலிழப்பதிவ். பெரியதிரு. 2.

93. It is significant that the Discus, the most powerful weapon in the armoury of Viṣṇu, who destroys the wicked and protects the virtuous, is styled *āḷi* (ஆழி).

94. Golden Bough, Part II, p. 315.



he turned the experience to profit and learnt to fling that stone as a missile at an enemy or broke that bough and used it as a club, he began his human career on the earth.”<sup>95</sup> The purpose served by the detached bough is indicated by the etymological sense of the word ‘*kōl*’ (கோல்) which denotes the club, *Kōl* is derived from the verbal root ‘*kol*’ (கொல்)—to beat-by the lengthening of the root-vowel. The instrument of destruction is thus denoted by the term *kōl*. In course of time it was extended to all sorts of instruments. e.g., *Eludu-kōl* (எழுதுகோல்)-the writing or painting instrument, *Tāl-k-kōl* (தாழ்க்கோல்)-the unbolting instrument and so forth.

*Paḍai* (படை) now used in the sense of army is derived from the root *paḍu* (படு) and literally signifies the act of prostrating the enemy. Tools made of stone were found to be more serviceable for this purpose than *kōl*. “Early men displayed a wonderful skill in shaping these implements and South India has yielded innumerable palaeolithic tools.”<sup>96</sup> The Tamil word *kalam* (கலம்) probably formed from *kal* (கல்)-stone, signifies the lithic tools employed by primitive men. The expression *paḍai-k-kalam* perhaps denoted in the first instance the stone implement used for felling the foemen. In course of time, however, *kalam* came to be associated with anything made of stone or wood, e.g., *Unkalam* (உண்கலம்) eating vessel, *koḷ-kalam* (கொள்கலம்) receptacle, *marakkalṁ* (மரக்கலம்) boat. It is significant that the expression *aṇi-kalam* (அணிகலம்) is used with reference to jewelry. Polished stones probably served as ornaments in primitive society. The word *kal* still sticks to the names of some of the jewels. The emerald ear-pendent is known as *paccai-k-kal* (பச்சைக்கல்). The diamond necklace is *kal-aḍḍigai* (கல் அட்டிகை). Although in modern jewelry precious stones and glittering metals have taken the place of the polished stones, the expression *aṇi-kalam* revives the thought of the lithic jewel.

The ancient conception that royalty is next to Divinity is affirmed by the existence of common terms applicable to both of them. The sacred character of the royal personality is declared in unmistakable terms in the Devotional songs. “I find the image of the Lord in the gracious King” says a seer.<sup>97</sup> The king was supposed to be guarded

95. The Stone age in India, p. 5.

96. Ibid, p. 8.

97. திருவுடை மன்னரைக் காணிற்றி ருமாலிக் கண்டேனே-திருவாய் மொழி, பதிகம் 34, 8.

and guided by the light of Heaven.<sup>98</sup> Hence next to Divinity, Royalty commanded the allegiance and adoration of the people. *Kō* (கோ) and *Kōn* (கோன்); *Irai* (இறை) and *Iraivan* (இறைவன்) are terms common to the Divine as well as the human lord. The Temple of God and the palace of the King are both denoted by the term *Kōyil*.<sup>99</sup> (*Kō*-Lord; *il*-house.)

The ancient titles denoting the three royal houses of South India are suggestive of the distinctive features of the three Tamil kingdoms. The Chēra King is *Vullavan* (வில்லவன்); the Chōla King is *Vaḷavan* (வளவன்) and the Pāṇḍya King is *Miṇavan* (மினவன்).<sup>100</sup> The Chēra was the lord of the hills. His subjects were hardy hillmen skilled in archery and his country abounded in wild life. The bow, therefore, was the natural symbol of his royal authority. The Chōla country was the most fertile part of Tamil land. The abundant and fertilising waters of the Kāvēri glorified as *Ponni* (பொன்னி),<sup>101</sup> the golden river, made Chōlamanḍalam, the granary of South India. Hence the name *Vaḷavan* indicates that he was the lord of the fertile plains.<sup>102</sup> The fish was the symbol of the Pāṇḍya power. It adorned the royal flag and the royal seal of the Pāṇḍya king. The protecting deity of the Pāṇḍya kingdom was *Mīnūtchi* (மீனாட்சி) - the fish-eyed goddess. The association of the fish with the Pāṇḍya power indicates that he was the lord of the seas. Pearl-fishery was the main source of his wealth and prosperity. In prehistoric times an enormous and lucrative trade was carried on *Korikai*, a seaport town situated at the mouth of the Tāmbraparaṇi. The Pāṇḍyan assumed the title of the *Korikai - t - turaivan* (கொற்கைத்துறைவன்)<sup>103</sup> and *Korikai-yāḷi* (கொற்கையாளி) - the Lord of the *Korikai* port with legitimate pride.

98. உறங்குமாயினு மன்னவன் நன்னொளி

கறங்கு தெண்டி ரை வையகங்காக்குமால். சிங். நாமகள்-219.

ஒளியோடொழு கப்படும்-திருக்குறள், 698. (ஒளி-உறங்கா நிற்கவும் தாமுலகங் காக்கின்ற அவர் கடவுட்டன்மை, பரி. உரை).

99. மாலை வெண்குடைப் பாண்டியன் கோயில்-சிலப். ஆய்ச்சி. 5.

100. குடாமணி நிகண்டு, மக்கட்பெயர், 18, 19, 20.

101. தெய்வப்பொன்னி யெனலாய புனலாறுமுள-கம்ப. அகத்திய. 58.

102. It is possible that the tiger was adopted as the symbol of the Chola power at a time when a large part of the Chola country was covered by dense forest. The great Chola kings are praised by the Tamil bards for the meritorious act of clearing the land of wild growth and rendering it fit for cultivation (Refer-Paṭṭiṇappālai-283).

103. கொற்கைக் கோமான் கொற்கையம் பெருந்துறை-ஐங்குறு. 138.

It is natural that the king whose power and prosperity mainly depended on maritime commerce should adopt the fish as the symbol of his royal authority.

The law by which the primitive Tamils were governed may be understood from the term *valakku* (வழக்கு) which signifies litigation in the modern speech. *Valakkam* (வழக்கம்) or *Valakku* (வழக்கு) means custom. "The origin of customs is generally enshrouded in the mist of the distant past : but the binding force of customs lies in their sacred antiquity and in the reverential obedience to them by the people themselves for generations."<sup>104</sup> The ancient Tamils were governed mainly by customs. Decisions in tribunals of Justice were based on immemorial custom. When an aggrieved person appeared before the tribunal with a complaint that a violation of custom in regard to a particular matter has resulted in the infringement of his personal or proprietary rights, it naturally necessitated an exposition of the custom alleged to have been violated. Hence the expression *valakkāḍal* (வழக்காடல்) or *valakuraittal* (வழக்குரைத்தல்) came to signify pleading. The significance of the term *valakku* (வழக்கு) is clearly brought out in the chapter dealing with the pleading of Kaṇṇahi in Cilappadihāram. Kaṇṇahi who was aggrieved by an act of the Pāṇḍya king, appeared before him to vindicate her husband's innocence and demand redress for the violation of the time-honoured custom that none but the wicked shall be punished by the State.<sup>105</sup> In expounding the ancient custom of the country she made the point that even royalty was not above the sacred customary law of the land by recalling the act of the great Chōḷa king who did not hesitate to sacrifice his only son when it was proved that he was responsible for killing a calf on the road.<sup>106</sup> The chapter in Cilappadihāram relating to Kaṇṇahi's pleading is aptly

104. "Custom is of far earlier origin than law. Law which is the product of a rather complicated machinery of social and political organisation, was unknown, at any rate in its present sense, in the primitive ages when society was not, as at present, a collection of individuals but an aggregation of families"—Customs and Customary Law, p. 1.

105. தீவந்தன் தனைக்கண்டு இத்திறங்கேட்பல் யான்என்றான் - சிலப். ஊர் சூழ். 71.

106. தேரா மன்னு செப்பு வ துடையேன்

.....

வாயிற் கடைமணி நடுநா நடுங்க

ஆவின் கடைமணியுருநீர் நெஞ்சு சுடத்தான்றன்

அரும் பெறற் புதல்வன் ஆழியின் மடித்தோன்

பெரும்பெயர்ப் புகார் என்பதியே—சிலப். வழக்குரை.

entitled *vaḷakkurai kātai* (வழக்குரை காதை) i.e., the chapter relating to the exposition of custom. In modern language an enquiry in a civil court is known as *vaḷakku vicāraṇai* (வழக்கு விசாரணை) as distinguished from *kurra vicāraṇai* (குற்ற விசாரணை) enquiry in a criminal court. Thus, the word *vaḷakku* used with reference to litigation takes us back to the days when the Tamil community was governed by immemorial custom having the force of law.

The Greek and Hebrew Languages bear testimony to the commercial relations that subsisted in ancient times between Tamil India and foreign countries. The old Tamil poems give a catalogue of commodities imported from other countries by land and by sea. Among the commodities that came from distant countries beyond the seas, a prominent place is assigned to the horse.<sup>107</sup> It is probable that the Arab merchants who maintained active commercial relations with the Tamil country for several centuries carried on a lucrative trade in Persian and Arabian horses. The words designating the equipment of the horse in Tamil seem to indicate that it was not an indigenous animal. The saddle is denoted by the term *cēṇam* (சேணம்) which is derived from the Persian *Ḳin. Lakān* (லகான்) - the reins, is a corruption of the Persian *Lagām*. *Cavukku* (சவுக்கு) - the whip, is obviously the Persian *Chābuk*.<sup>108</sup>

Among the thirty words given in *Cūḍāmaṇi* as synonyms for the horse, *Kōram* (கோரம்) and *Pari* (பரி) seem to be significant. One of the Persian words designating the horse is *kurra*. The Telugu word *gurramu* (horse) bears a close resemblance to the Persian *Kurra*. In Tamil *Kōram* is used generally in the sense of horse and particularly with reference to the royal horse of the Chōḷa dynasty. Malcolm says that horses of the Turkoman or Khorassan breed were noted for their great size and strength and were most prized by the soldiers of Persia.<sup>109</sup> It is possible that *Kōram* used with reference to the Chōḷa horse is a corruption of the Persian Khorassan. The mare is denoted by the term *Faras* in Persian. The resemblance of the Tamil word *pari* (பரி) - horse, to this Persian word is remarkable.

The existence of indigenous words for the boat, the ship, the light house, etc., testifies to the knowledge which the ancient Tamils had

107. நீரின் வந்த நிமிர்பரிப் புரவியும்-பட்டின. 185.

108. For the Persian words referred to, see 'Burhān-i-Qāṭi'.

109. Malcolm's Persia, Vol. II, pp. 516, 17.

acquired of the art of navigation. However, commercial relations with foreign countries have enriched the Tamil vocabulary by contributing a few nautical terms. *Langar*, the Persian form of the Greek word for anchor, has been adopted in Tamil as *Naṅguram* (நங்குரம்). The recognition that this nautical term has received at the hands of a mediaeval commentator<sup>110</sup> shows that it must have passed into the Tamil language, possibly through the sailors' slang, at a very early period of its history. The word *mālumi* (மாலுமி) designating the pilot is derived from the Persian *Mallah*. *Nikāṇ* (நிகாண்) and its variant *Mikāṇ* (மிகாண்) are perhaps corruptions of the Persian *Nākhudā* which signifies the captain or owner of a ship - a word adopted in Arabic in the same form. *Cukkāṇ* (சுக்காண்) - rudder - <sup>111</sup> is Arabic.

The Arab merchants have introduced the name of an Indian fruit into the European languages in the wake of their commercial intercourse. The English word Orange has been traced to the Indian Languages in which it originated. *Nāraṅgāi* or *Nāraṅga*, the name of the fruit in the Indian Languages assumed the form *Nāraṅg* in Persian and *Nāraṅj* in Arabic. "From the Arabic, the Italians got *Narancia*, the Spaniards *Naranja*, the Portuguese *Laranja* and the French *Orange*." The form in which the original word appears in the Indian Languages may also be considered. In Sanskrit it appears in two forms *Nāgaraṅga* and *Nāraṅga*; "but of these words no satisfactory etymological explanation has been given."<sup>112</sup> In the Dravidian Languages *Nāraṅgāi* which has assumed the form *Nāraṅṇa* in the Malayāḷam, can, according to Dr. Gundert, be traced to the root *Nār* (to smell). It may be noted that the Persian *Nāraṅg* bears a very close resemblance to the Malayāḷam form of the word. It is probable that *Nāraṅgāi* passed into the language of the Arabs during their commercial intercourse with Malabar.

The advent of new religions and the impact of new cultures in South India have from time to time led to a revision of the Tamil vocabulary. Either new words have come into existence or existing words have acquired new significations. The principal religions that influenced the

110. Nacciṇārkiṇiyar has used the word in his commentary on *Cintāmaṇi*, st., 1231.

111. *Cuṅgāṇ* is the nasalised form of *cukkāṇ*. The Arabic word is *Sukkāṇ*.

112. Hob-job, p. 642. For a derivation of the word from a Dravidian root refer to Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary. (*Nārakam*-from *nār* or *nāru* + *akam* "holding fragrance—an orange tree, *citrus aurantium*. The fruit is *nāraṅṇa* whence P. *nāraṅj* and European "orange"—p. 544.

thoughts and ideals of the Tamil country were Jainism and Buddhism in ancient times and Muhammadanism and Christianity in modern times.

The word *paḷḷi* (பள்ளி) was originally used in the general sense of place. e.g. *Idai-p-paḷḷi* (இடைப்பள்ளி) central place; *maḍai-p-paḷḷi* (மடைப்பள்ளி) [*maḍai* - cooked rice; *Paḷḷi* - place] denotes kitchen, now restricted to the kitchen attached to temples and charitable foundations.

The Buddhists and Jains employed the term *paḷḷi* to denote their holy places. The monasteries of the Jaina monks and the hermitages of the Jaina ascetics were known as *māiavar paḷḷi* (மாதவர் பள்ளி) and *aṟavōr paḷḷi* (அறவோர் பள்ளி). *Āṣivaka-p-paḷḷi* (ஆசீவகப் பள்ளி)<sup>113</sup> was the monastery of the *Ājīvaka* sect of Jains. As Buddhism and Jainism were missionary religions, the learned monks and ascetics were mainly engaged in expounding the principles of their faith to their disciples in the monasteries. Thus *paḷḷi* (பள்ளி) was not merely a place for practising religious austerities but was also a theological seminary. It is probable that the education imparted in these seminaries included a course of instruction in grammar, logic and literature, as an exact knowledge of the language and a correct method of exposition were essential for the propagation of religion. Thus the term *paḷḷi* came to signify a seat of learning. The decline of Jainism in South India led to the abolition of the monasteries. But the thirst for knowledge and the respect for learning created by the *paḷḷis* survived them. The excitement caused by the struggle between Jainism and Hinduism for supremacy and the flush of victory scored by the latter gave an impetus to the study of Hindu Scriptures and Theology. Enthusiastic pupils waited at the doors of learned men with a view to pay their respects and receive instruction. The house of the learned man thus became the school and the *kūḍam* (கூடம்) — verandah, of his residence was regularly and habitually used as the place of instruction, the school came to be called *paḷḷi-k-kūḍam* (பள்ளிக்கூடம்). There the master used to sit on a pial (திண்ணை) - earthen dais - and impart instruction to the pupils who sat at his feet. As the pial was the seat of learning the school received the name *tiṇṇai-p-paḷḷi-k-kūḍam* (திண்ணைப் பள்ளிக்கூடம்). Thus it will be seen that the modern school, which mainly confines itself to secular education, had its origin in the theological seminaries of the religions which have ceased to be a living force in this country.

113. அறவோர் பள்ளியும் அறனும்படையும். சிலப், இந்திர. 179.  
அறவோர் பள்ளி = அருகர் பள்ளி, புத்தர் பள்ளி = அடி. உரை.

*Paḷḷi* (பள்ளி) as the name of a place of worship or prayer has acquired a new lease of life by its adoption by Islam. The Muhammadan mosque in the Tamil country is commonly called *Paḷḷivāsai* (பள்ளிவாசல்).<sup>113a</sup>

The history of the word *aḍi-kaḷ* (அடிகள்) affords another instance of the influence of Buddhist and Jaina religions. The devotees of the Lord were generally denoted by the term *aḍiyār* (அடியார்) in the Hindu religion. But Jainism and Buddhism which laid great emphasis on renunciation used the word *aḍi-kaḷ* with reference to their ascetics. Iḷaṅgō, the Chēra prince was styled *Iḷaṅgō-aḍi-kaḷ* as he renounced his royal splendour and became a Jaina ascetic.<sup>114</sup> Kavundi, the lady ascetic, is referred to as *Kavundi-aḍi-kaḷ* in *Cilappadhāram*. The celebrated monk who expounded the Buddhist law at Kānchi was known as *Araṇa aḍi-kaḷ*. The new shade of thought which the word *aḍi-kaḷ* acquired in the Jaina and Buddhist usage has been adopted and perpetuated by the followers of other religions. The prince of Saiva ascetics is elegantly styled *Paḷḷinat-t-aḍi-kaḷ* (பட்டினத் தடிகள்) or *Tiruveṇ-kāṭṭu-aḍi-kaḷ* (திருவெண்காட்டடிகள்). Māṇikkavāṣagar is known as *Vāḍavūr-aḍi-kaḷ* (வாதவூர் அடிகள்) and so forth.

The Jaina ascetics who settled in the Tamil country belonged mainly to the Digambara sect of Jainism. Hence the Śramaṇa (Jaina) religion with which the Tamils were acquainted was the religion of the naked ascetics. The word Śramaṇa was corrupted into *Camaṇam* (சமணம்), which became *amaṇam* (அமணம்) by the elimination of the initial consonant. *Amaṇam*, the name of the religion came to be associated with nudity as the expounders of the faith were nude ascetics. The *amaṇam* (அமணம்) and its corruption *ammaṇam* (அம்மணம்) came to denote nudity.

The original sense of the word *vinai* (வினை) is action. The verb is known as *vinai-c-col* (வினைச்சொல்) in Tamil grammar, as the function of that part of speech is to denote action. Purity of action and decisive action are denoted by the expressions *vinai-t-tūymai* (வினைத்தூய்மை) and *vinai-t-tiṭṭam* (வினைத்திட்டம்)<sup>115</sup> in Tirukkuṛaḷ. When the doctrine of *Karma* was elaborated and systematised, *vinai* came to be

113a. In Nānjanād (South Travancore) and Travancore the word *paḷḷi* associated with the Christian church, e.g., Savuriyār kōyil *paḷḷi*.

114. அடிகள் என்றது துறத்தலான். சிலப்பதிக. அடி. உரை.

115. திருக்குறள், அதி. 66, 67.

used in the sense of *Karma*. The principle of *Karma* is based on the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul. *Vinai* or *Karma* was responsible for the incarceration of the soul in the mortal coil. "Every action whether mental or physical is the sowing of a seed or in the technical language of Hindu Philosophy, an engendering of *Karma*. The harvest which is sown must be reaped, gathered and assimilated in its unabated fulness. *Karma*, therefore, is a kind of force which compels the soul to bear the consequence of its right or wrong action, and this force originates in the very action itself which is performed by the soul and at the very moment of its performance."<sup>116</sup> Thus *vinai* came to denote the action of the soul in previous births which causes happiness or misery in succeeding births. The expression *ulvinai* (உலவினை)<sup>117</sup> refers to the regular unalterable course of *Karma*. The preponderance of evil deeds in the world has gradually led to the restriction of the term *vinai* (வினை) to the evil *Karma* which is the cause of misery and distress.

*Saṅgam* is a popular word in the Tamil country. It signifies an institution organised for promoting the cause of learning or religion. The classical commentaries in Tamil contain a description of the three *Saṅgams* which flourished in South India under the munificent patronage of the Pāṇḍyas. The restriction of the general term *Saṅgam* to an organisation of cultured men brought into existence for the purpose of promoting a particular cause, is perhaps due to Buddhist and Jaina influence. The history of the word *Saṅgam* has been traced as follows :—

"The word *Saṅgam* is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit *Saṅgha* first popularised by the Jainas and Bauddhas. A Jaina *Saṅgha* was for the first time established in the Tamil country at Madura in 470 A.D. It has to be noted that this was not a Tamil *Saṅgam* as we understand it, but an organisation of the Jains of the Tamil country for teaching the Jaina Dharma to lay disciples. The first Bauddha *Saṅgha* of the Tamil country is mentioned in the romance called *Maṇimēhalai* as existing in Kāviri-p-pūmbaṭṭinam. The 'three Jewels'-Buddha, Dharma, and *Saṅgha*-are mentioned later in the same poem. Thus, apparently the word *Saṅgam* was used at first in Tamil for a religious association and its function was to teach Dharma."<sup>118</sup>

116. The Key of Knowledge, p. 876.

117. சிலப். பதிகம்.

118. History of the Tamils, pp. 246-48.



The corporate character of family life in South India is attested by the significance and history of the word *aiyaṇ* (ஐயன்). The one-letter word *ai* (ஐ) signifies pre-eminence or headship. The head of the family and the head of the State are denoted by the term '*ai*' (ஐ). In the well known line *eṇ ai muṇ nillaṇ-miṇ tevvir* (என் ஐ முன் நில்லன்மின் தெவ்விர்) 'Face not my lord in battle Oh! foes!' <sup>119</sup> '*ai*' is used in the sense of lord. As pronominal terminations and formative suffixes are generally attached to one-letter words to facilitate enunciation *aṇ* (அன்)—the suffix of the masculine singular was attached to '*ai*'. Thus '*ai*' + '*aṇ*' > *ai-y-aṇ* (ஐயன்) came to be used with reference to the *Pater-familias* who was the responsible head of the joint family. The right of managing the joint estate and the duty of supporting the members of the joint family devolved on the eldest son after the death of the father. This status accounts for the term *aiyaṇ* being applied to the eldest brother in the first instance and to every elder brother in succession. The common term *tamaiyaṇ* (தமையன்) which denotes the elder brother is derived by prefixing the reflexive pronominal base *tam* to the word *aiyaṇ*. <sup>120</sup>

The resemblance between the growth of the tree and the growth of the human family has led to the application of the word *kiḷai* (கிளை)-branch, to relations. The *Paterfamilias* supports the family as the trunk of a tree supports its branches. Though the trunk and the twigs are distinguishable, they together form the tree. The trunk sustains branches and the branches in turn lend charm and beauty by their foliage. The ramification of the human family is commonly compared by the Tamil poets to the banyan tree which abounds in leaves and branches.

The ancient practice of conferring on grand-children the names of their grand-parents has led to the formation of the words *pēraṇ* (பேரன்), grandson and *pērtti* (பேர்த்து) <sup>121</sup> grand-daughter. The practical difficulty experienced in families blessed with more than one grand-son and one grand-daughter of denoting all of them by the names of their grand-parents, is generally obviated by conferring on the eldest son the name of the grand-father, and on the eldest daughter

119. திருக்குறள், 771.

120. For other words with the prefix *tam* refer of Caldwell's Comparative grammar, pp. 398-400.

121. *Pērtti* is corrupted into *pētti*. Cf. *cērkai*—*cēkkai*; *Nīrttu*-*Nīttu*; *Pērttu*-*pēttu*; *pēraṇ* and *pērtti* literally mean namesake.

the name of the grand-mother. The need for remembering the names of the immediate and remote ancestors at the ceremonies connected with the propitiation of their disembodied souls was perhaps responsible for this practice.<sup>122</sup>

The maternal uncle's son is *ammāñ-cēy* (அம்மாள் சேய்) (*ammāñ*-uncle, *cēy*-son) corrupted into *ammāñji* (அம்மாஞ்சி). It was not considered bad manners to be familiar with the *ammāñji*, to crack jokes at him or tease him with petty pranks. The general inability of an *ammāñji* placed in the midst of a mixed company of wits, to meet them on their own ground and pay them in their own coin, has resulted in making the term *ammāñji* synonymous with simpleton. This degradation in sense resulting from a pleasantry is an instance of "the mildly malicious wit which is but a form of popular good sense."<sup>123</sup>

The history of the word *eluttu* (எழுத்து) gives us an insight into the origin of the modern alphabet. *Eluttu* (எழுத்து) derived from *elutu* (எழுது) originally denoted painting. *Elutu-kōl* (எழுதுகோல்) is the painter's brush.<sup>124</sup> A hall in the temple at Tirupparaṅgunṇam whose walls were adorned with paintings intended to convey religious and moral instruction is described as *eluttu-nilai-maṇṭapam* (எழுத்து நிலை மண்டபம்) in *Paripādal*.<sup>125</sup> Kamban describes the charming personality of Rama as *viyattu eluta oṇṇā uruvam* (வினியத்து எழுத ஒண்ணு உருவம்)-the form that defies the skill of the painter.<sup>126</sup> In grammatical usage, *eluttu*<sup>127</sup> signifies 'a concept which includes the sound of a unit syllable and the sign that represents it.' The pictograph is considered to be the parent of the present alphabet. This view seems to receive confirmation from the original sense of *eluttu* in Tamil.

The words denoting the window are expressive of its primitive shape and purpose. In old poetry the term *kālataṛ* (காலதர்) literally 'wind-way' (*kāl*-wind, *atar*-way) signifies the window. The shape of the window is suggested by the word *kuṟuṅgaṇ* (குறுங்

122. Tirukkural, 43.

123. Vendryes-Language, p. 210.

124. Tirukkural, 1285.

125. பரி. 19-53.

126. கம்ப. வாலிவதை. 78.

127. History of the Tamils, p. 214.

கண்),<sup>128</sup> which means 'small eye.' Cilappadihāram refers to the window in the mansions of the city of Puhār which resembled the eye of the deer.<sup>129</sup> *Pala-kani* (பலகணி) literally 'the thing of many eyes' perhaps signifies the lattice-window. These indigenous words have now become obsolete and *jannal*-a corruption of the Portuguese word *Janella*<sup>130</sup> has obtained wide currency. The history of the English word 'window' may be considered in this connection. Palmer says "a mysterious word that recalls an obsolete technique is the English word window which means literally 'wind-eye'. The word 'eye' in many languages forms part of compound words denoting the window."<sup>131</sup>

Words, whose meanings have been obscured or obliterated by their corruption will disclose their treasures, if they were restored to their correct forms. In the Dravidian Languages, words containing the characteristic sound 'l' (ழ) have undergone remarkable changes. The physiological effort involved in the correct phonation of this character is perhaps responsible for its elimination from the alphabets of the Dravidian Languages other than Tamil and Malayalam. The extraordinary lack of uniformity in the pronunciation of words containing this character is evidently due to the difficulty of its exact phonation. Economy of effort is sometimes achieved by the elimination of this letter even from words in which it forms an integral part of the roots. For instance *Tākkōl* (தாக்கோல்) commonly used in Malayalam and certain parts of the Tamil country in the sense of 'key', is a corruption of *Tālkkōl* (தாழ்க்கோல்). *Tāl* (தாழ்) is an old word which means 'bolt.' It still lingers in the hybrid *tālppāl* (தாழ்ப்பாள்)<sup>132</sup> corrupted into *tāppāl* (தாப்பாள்) in the colloquial dialect. Hence *tālkkōl* denotes the instrument employed for lifting or drawing off the bolt. In the southern districts of the Tamil country *tiravukōl* (திறவுகோல்) is largely used to signify the 'key'. In modern usage however *chāvi* (சாவி) a corruption of the Portuguese word *chiavi*<sup>133</sup> has succeeded to a large extent in displacing the indigenous terms.

Several words in the Tamil language have lost their semantic value, by the elimination or alteration of the character 'l' (ழ). The

128. கூ.திர்ப்பள்ளிக் குறுங்கண் அடைத்து-சிலப். அந்தி. 61.

129. மான்கட் காலதர் மாளிகை யிடங்கனும்-சிலப். இத்தர. 8.

130. Tamil Lexicon.

131. Palmer's Introduction to modern Linguistics, pp. 153, 54.

132. In *Tālppāl*, *tāl* is Tamil and *pāl* is Dutch-Tamil Lexicon.

133. Tamil Lexicon.

word *Tomban* (தொம்பன்) for instance is used in some districts of the Tamil country to denote a class of people who render menial service. The significance of the word will be apparent if it is shown to be the corruption of *Toḷumbāṇ* (தொழும்பன்) - (*Toḷumbu* means service).<sup>134</sup>

A married woman who is the mistress of the house is commonly known as *vāvarasi* (வாவரசி)<sup>135</sup> in the popular speech of the South. The correct form of the word is *vāḷvarasi* (வாழ்வரசி) *vāḷvu*-life; *arasi*-queen. This term indicates the high regard in which wedded life has been held in this country and the remarkable position assigned to the wife in family life. For the woman, life in the real sense of the word commenced with marriage. The expression *Vāḷkkai-p-paṭṭavaḷ* (வாழ்க்கைப்பட்டவள்) used with reference to the married woman, clearly reflects the opinion of the community that the purpose of life is fulfilled by marriage. On the other hand *vāḷāṭavaḷ* (வாழாதவள்) a woman who has not entered life, is regarded as “a flower wasting its sweetness in the desert air” and is hence the object of public sympathy, if not of contempt.

When a sick person who is gradually recovering his normal health is asked ‘How do you feel?’ he answers *tāvalai* (தாவலை) or *tēvalai* (தேவலை). At first sight *tēvalai* appears to be a corruption of *tēvai illai* (தேவை இல்லை) i.e., ‘I need nothing.’ But this is hardly a proper answer to a query regarding the state of the patient’s health. Moreover, the connection in which this term is employed shows that this cannot be the sense intended. The expression *tāvalai āccu* (தாவலை ஆச்சு) is commonly used in the sense of a wound healed or an illness cured. *Tāvalai* is obviously a corruption of *Tāvilai* (தாழ்வலை) which indicates that the disease is not taking a bad turn or becoming worse. This expression coming from a patient undergoing medical treatment will naturally mean that the disease has been brought under control. It is worthy of note that the elimination of the special character ‘*ḷ*’ (ழ) which forms an integral part of the root is the first step in the process of the corruption of this word.<sup>136</sup>

134. நின்னிழுத்தொழும்பின் உள்ளேன்-திருவாசகம், நீத்தல். 2.

135. *Vāvarasi* is commonly used in the colloquial dialect in Tinnevely.

136. *Tāḷvilai* > *Tāvilai* > *Tāvalai* > *Tēvali*: The elimination of *ḷ* may be noted in the following words:—

*Tāḷvaḍam* (தாழ்வடம்) > *Tāvaḍam* (தாவடம்), *Tavaḍamu* (Te); *ūḷṭtai* (ஊழ்த்தை) > *ūtṭai* (ஊத்தை); *Kūḷṭopatanīr* (கூழ்ப்பத நீர்) > *Kūppatanīr*, cor. *Kūppatani*; *Maḷuṅgu* (மழுங்கு) > *Maṅgu*.

There is a tendency in every language to banish words which denote unpleasant or terrific objects. "To primitive people," says Jespersen, "a name is something with a real existence outside humanity, something possessing power, so that the way to escape evil consequence is not to use the plain word for anything bad or dangerous."<sup>187</sup> Diseases in general are dreaded by humanity and certain diseases cause a terrible fright. The primitive people of South India seem to have been horrified at the mysterious disease known as small-pox. Malevolent deities were supposed to be responsible for it and their fury was abated by abundant sacrifices. The disease itself was designated by a term which evoked the tenderest associations in the panic-stricken mind. *Ammai* (அம்மை) - mother, signifies small-pox. The attack of small-pox is denoted by the graceful expression *ammai-viḷaiyāṭṭu* (அம்மை விளை யாட்டு) - mother's play, and the pustule of small-pox bears the name *ammai-mullu* (அம்மை முத்து) - mother's pearl. *Ammai kuttal* (அம்மை குத்தல்) is the common euphemism for inoculation.

"In India," says Fraser, "the animals whose names are most commonly tabooed are the snake and the tiger. In Telingana the euphemistic name for a snake which should always be employed is worm or insect (purugu)..... Natives of Travancore are careful not to speak disrespectfully of serpents."<sup>188</sup> In the Tamil country the cobra is known as *Nallapāmbu*.

The terrors associated with death are assuaged by the employment of circumlocutions. *Tuñjīnān* (துஞ்சினான்) - slept, *cenrān* (சென்றான்), *ṭōṇān* (போனான்) - has gone, *Tiruvāḍi aḍaindān* (திருவடி அடைந்தான்) - reached the holy feet of the Lord.<sup>189</sup> These words are commonly employed to denote death. The Divine messenger who is charged with the duty of separating the life from the body is depicted by mythology in lurid colours. He is described as a dark figure armed with deadly weapons of terrific dimensions, mounted on a sturdy buffalo and demanding his toll with a ruthless and ferocious face. The thought of death raises the image of this terrific personality. The

137. Mankind, Nation and Individual, p. 169.

138. Golden Bough, Part II, pp. 401-02.

139. அஞ்சன மேனி யான்றன் அடுகணை யொன்றால் மாழ்கித் துஞ்சினன் - கம்ப. பிணிவீட்டு. 84.

கின்றான் இருந்தான் கிடந்தான்றன் கேளலற்ச் சென்றான் எனப் படுத லான்-நாலடி. 29.

போயினன் என்றான் என்ற போழ்தத்தே ஆவிபோனான்-கம்ப. தைலம். 60. புண்ணியா, உன்னடிக்கே போதுகின்றேன் - திருநாவுக்கரசர் தேவாரம், திருப்பூம்புகலூர்ப் பதிகம், 1.

horrors associated with death are mitigated by calling the messenger *Naḍuvan* (நடுவன்), the just and *Taruman* (தருமன்), the righteous.<sup>139a</sup>

Place-names afford valuable material for the reconstruction of the ancient history of the Tamil race. They may be utilised at any rate for the purpose of corroborating the conclusions warranted by epigraphical and literary evidence. But the popular craze for investing new places with hoary traditions has been responsible for the transformation or disfiguration of several place-names. Mahābalipuram—a celebrated shrine on the sea-coast in the Chingelput district—is an instance in point. This city was originally known as Mallai or Māmallai.<sup>140</sup> Mallai was called Māmallapuram after the great Pallava king Narasimhavarman alias Māmallaṇ. Māmallapuram was changed into Mahābalipuram by those who were either unaware of its origin or who desired the name of the mighty Mahābali to be associated with it.

The history of the Pāṇḍava Hills in the Western Ghats affords another instance of transformation effected by folk-etymology. This hill belonged to the ancient Chēras and was known as the *Aiyirai Hill*.<sup>141</sup> (அயிரை மலை). The Goddess *Korravai* (கொற்றவை) installed on the top of the hill was propitiated by the Chēra Kings before they commenced hostilities. By and by, *Aiyirai Malai* was corrupted into *Aivar Malai*, i.e., the Hill of the Five. The popularity of the story of the Pāṇḍavas led to the identification of Aivar with the Pañja-Pāṇḍavas. To each of the Pāṇḍavas a hill was generously assigned and the ancient *Korravai* was made to play the role of Pāñjali, their devoted wife.<sup>142</sup>

The history of the word Trichinopoly is no less interesting. The original name of the place was *Cirāppaḷḷi* (சிராப்பள்ளி). In the sacred songs of the Saivite Saints, it is referred to as *Cirāppaḷḷi*.<sup>143</sup> *Tiru*, the prefix of sanctity, was attached to it and it became *Tiru-c-Cirāppaḷḷi*.<sup>144</sup> The shrine on the rock of *Tiru-c-cirāppaḷḷi* was perhaps

139a. சூடாமணி நிகண்டு.

140. கலங்களியங்கும் மல்லைக்கடன்மல்லைத் தலசயனம்-பெரிய திருமொழி, 2, 6, 6.

141. See Chēraṇ Cheṇḡuṭṭuvan by M. Raghava Iyengar, p. 181.

142. Pancha Pāṇḍavarmalai is the present name of the hill.

143. சிராப்பள்ளிக் குன்றுடையானைக் கூற என்னுள்ளங் குளிரும்மே-திருச்சிராப்பள்ளிப்பதிகம், திருஞானசம்பந்தர் தேவாரம்.

144. திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி யென்றலும் தீவினை நரிச்சிராது நடக்குமே-திருநாவுக்கரசர் தேவாரம்.

destitute of any memorable tradition. An attempt was made to rectify this supposed defect by those who set themselves the task of celebrating its antiquity by composing a Puranam. An ingenious device was adopted by which Tirisira, the step-brother of the mighty Rāvaṇa was made the god-father of the shrine. *Tiru*, the prefix in *Tiru-c-cirāppaḷḷi* was twisted into *Tiri* (திரி) - three - and *Tiri - c - cirāppaḷḷi* was interpreted as the place founded by Tirisira, the three-headed warrior of Lanka.<sup>145</sup> An air of probability was given to this innovation, by lodging Kara, the brother of Tirisira, at Karūr, in the vicinity of *Tiru-c-cirāppaḷḷi*. Karapuram is one of the names of Karūr in the Puranam.<sup>146</sup> The shrine alleged to have been founded by Tirisira came to be called Tirisirapuram. The zeal evinced by the Saivite poets and scholars in popularising the term Tirisirapuram-an attempt which has not succeeded to any appreciable extent-is perhaps indicative of their anxiety to dissociate the shrine from every word or sign associated with Jainism, which perhaps held sway in the caves of the *Cirāppaḷḷi* rock prior to its occupation by Saivism. The modern contraction *Tirucci* (திருச்சி) retains only the prefix of sanctity and the initial palatal of the ancient name.

The ancient classification of land in Tamil India is suggested by the word *iḍaiyar* (இடையர்) which denotes the members of the shepherd community. *Iḍaiyar* literally means the inhabitants of the middle tract. The meaning of this term recalls to our mind the primitive division of land into four classes, viz., the hilly tract, *Kurinjī* (குறிஞ்சி), the sylvan tract, *Mullai* (முல்லை), the arable tract *Marutam* (மருதம்), and the littoral tract, *Neydal* (நெய்தல்). This classification was deemed so comprehensive that the earth came to be called *Nānilam* (நானிலம்). Of these four classes the pastoral region was known as the middle tract, as it lay between the hilly and the arable tracts.

Distinct names are given to villages situated in these four natural regions. The hamlets of the hill-men in *Kurinjī* are called *Kuricci* (குறிச்சி).<sup>147</sup> *Ālvākuricci*, *Naḍuvakkuricci*, *Kaḷḷakkuricci*,

145. துதித்திடுந் திரிசிரா சொல்லுஞ் சொல்லினுன்  
மதிச்சடை முடியினுன் வரங்கொடுத்தலால்  
உதித்திடு மளகையே யொப்பதாகுமப்  
பதிப்பெயர் திரிசிராப் பள்ளியானதே  
செவ்வந்திப் புராணம், திருமலைச்சுருக்கம், 15.

146. கஞ்சனெண்ணுதுபுரம் கரபுரம் பாற்கரபுரம் வீரசோழபுரம்-கருவூர்ப்  
புராணம்.

147. குறிச்சி யெங்கள் குறச்சாதி குடியிருப்பதம்மே-மீனுட்சியம்மை குறம், 19.

Kallidaikkuricci-the names of these villages indicate that they belong to the mountainous region. Habitations in the sylvan tract are known as *pāḍi* (பாடி). Āyarpāḍi, Vyāsarpāḍi, Vāṇiyambāḍi, Āyampāḍi are settlements in the wooded land between the highlands and the lowlands. Villages situated in the arable tract are styled *ūr* (ஊர்). Uṟaiyūr, Nellūr, Cīrūr, Pērūr, are the names of some of the ancient places in the arable tract. Hamlets in the littoral tract are known as *pākkam* (பாக்கம்). Paṭṭinappākkam, Kōḍambākkam are villages situated in the littoral region.<sup>148</sup>

The prefix *Ār* (ஆர்) in the place-names Ār-k-kāḍu, Ār-k-kōṇam (ஆர்க்கோணம்) and Ārūr (ஆரூர்), perhaps suggests the primitive condition of these places. Ārkāḍu was supposed to be a corruption of Ārukāḍu (six forests) and was translated into Sanskrit as Ṣaḍ-āraṇya. Ārūr, now known as Tiruvārūr, is said to have been the capital of the Chōlas in the pre-historic times. The tree known as “Ār” or “Ātti” (ஆத்தி), perhaps a corruption of Ārtti (ஆர்த்தி) must have existed in abundance in the territory of the Chōlas in ancient times. It is significant that the garland of the royal dynasty of the Chōlas was made of Ātti flowers. It is possible that the place covered by the Ātti forest was given the name Ārkāḍu. Similarly a triangular piece of land abounding in Ātti trees received the name Ārkōṇam and the land cleared of the Ātti forest and rendered fit for the habitation of agricultural communities was denoted by the term Ārūr.

The physical geography of the ancient Tamil country may be gleaned from the terms connected with the names of the four main directions. The north and the south are denoted by the terms *vaḍakku* (வடக்கு) and *terku* (தெற்கு). The east and the west are signified in old Tamil by the words *kuṇakku* (குணக்கு) and *kuḍakku* (குடக்கு). The termination ‘ku’ (கு) in these terms is a suffix denoting direction. From the roots of these words, other words have arisen which give us an insight into the extent of the Tamil land. *Vaḍuhu* (வடுகு)<sup>149</sup> is the name by which the Telugu Language and the Telugu country are known in the ancient Tamil Literature. The Tirupathi Hill is denoted

148. This distinction however is not systematically adopted. For instance Kapilar uses the word *pākkam* in connexion with Kuṟiñji. The place names terminating in *pākkam* sometimes refer to villages far away from the littoral region.

149. வடதிசை மருங்கின் வடுகு வரம்பாக-தொல். பெருந். 650, உரை.  
வடகலை தென்கலை வடுகு கன்னடம்-கம்ப. தனியன்.



by the term *Vaḍamalai* (வடமலை) as it marked the northern limit of the Centamil country. The Āndhra is styled *Vaḍuhaṇ* (வடுகன்)—northerner. The wind blowing from the north is called *Vāḍai* or *Vaḍandai*.<sup>150</sup> Similarly from the root 'teṇ' (தென்) which contains the idea of south, the word *teṇṇaṇ* (தென்னன்) is derived. *Tēṇṇaṇ* signified the Pāṇḍyan who was the ruler of the southern kingdom. The people of the southern region were known as *Tēṇṇar* and the southern breeze *teṇṇal* (தென்றல்).<sup>151</sup>

From the earliest times known to Tamil Literature, the sea formed the eastern boundary of the Tamil land. This perhaps accounts for the paucity of terms connected with the name of that direction. It is significant, however, that the eastern wind is known as *koṇḍal* (கொண்டல்).<sup>152</sup> The primitive people fancied that the clouds sucked the waters of the mighty ocean sustained the earth by gentle showers. This idea is embodied in the word *Kārkoḷ* (கார்கோல்) which signifies the ocean.<sup>153</sup> The rainclouds formed over the eastern seas are driven towards the lofty range of mountains near the western coast and hence the eastern wind that drives the pregnant clouds to the western hills as well as the clouds themselves are denoted by the common term *Koṇḍal*. It is probable that *Koṇḍal* signifies the monsoon winds blowing from the north-east.

From the root of the word denoting the west, several significant terms have originated. *Kuḍahu* (குடகு) the modern Coorg, literally means the western region. The venerable Agastya of the western hill is styled *Kuḍa-muṇi* (குடமுனி).<sup>154</sup> *Kōḍai* (கோடை) literally signifies the western wind. It was extended in the first instance to the season during which the western wind blows and ultimately to the intense heat of that season.<sup>155</sup> The country situated on the western frontier of the Tamil land is called *Kuḍanāḍu* (குடநாடு)—one of the twelve adjacent territories in which a crude dialect of Tamil prevailed in the olden days.<sup>156</sup>

150. வாடையினும் வீசும் வடகாற்றுவடந்தையென்ப-குடாமணி நிகண்டு.

151. தென்கால், தென்றி=தென்றல்-குடாமணி நிகண்டு.

152. குடாமணி நிகண்டு.

153. கார்கோல் முகந்த கமஞ்சுல் மாமழை-திருமுருகு. 7.

154. குடமுனிக்கு வலியுறுத்தார் கொல்லேற்றுப்பாகர்-காஞ்சிப்புராணம், தழுவக்குழைந்த. 248.

155. Tamil Lexicon.

156. தென்பாண்டி குட்டம் குடம்-தொல். சொல். 400, உரை.

## SECTION II.

### *Diverse Changes in Semasiology*

Semantics or the science of significations is an important branch of linguistics. The diverse changes that have taken place in the meanings of words have been studied and classified by philologists<sup>157</sup> under the heads, Restriction, Expansion, Degradation, Elevation and Variation. This classification is based on the results of sense-changes. An attempt however has been made in recent times to classify sense-changes from a psychological point of view. Semasiology is based by this School of philologists upon the findings of experimental psychology.

In the present state of our knowledge of Tamil words, the application of the psychological method will not yield fruitful results. Sufficient material has not yet been gathered to furnish a satisfactory basis for a synthesis. An attempt is made in the following pages to describe the changes that meanings of words have undergone under the aforesaid heads.

### RESTRICTION

*Malaiyam* : *Malaiyam* (மலையம்) is the poetical name of the Pothiya hill in the Western Ghats. The termination *am* in *Malaiyam* is an expletive suffix.<sup>158</sup> The generic term *Malai* or *Malaiyam*, (Mount), is restricted to Pothiyam by reason of its great celebrity. Pothiyil is a hill of hoary traditions. It is celebrated in ancient songs as 'the eternal

157. See Meaning and Change of Meaning by G. Stern, p.5.

158. Malaya is the Sanskrit name of the Western Ghats. Regarding this word Caldwell says "Mala (Ka, Ma, Te) a hill, a mountain; Tamil, malai. This Dravidian root has found its way into the Sanskrit Lexicons as the base of Malaya, the Sanskrit name of the Western Ghats. (C. G. 622).

hill of the Tamil sage.<sup>159</sup> The Southern breeze is glorified as *Malaiya-mārutham*, i.e., the gentle wind of *Malaiyam*. The *Malaiyam* of the south is placed on a par with the *Imayam* of the north by the national bards.<sup>160</sup> Thus the glorious traditions associated with the *Pothiyam* have exalted it as the hill of hills in the Tamil country.<sup>161</sup>

**Pon :** In the world of metals, the word *pon* (பொன்) has undergone a restriction in signification which is indicative of the sense of economic values that prevailed in the ancient Tamil land. *Pon* was originally a general term signifying metal. The specific metal under reference was left to be inferred from the context. Thus in the expression *tūṇḍir-pon* (தூண்டிற்பொன்)<sup>162</sup>—the metal of the fish-hook, the word *Pon* denotes iron. In some cases the metal was indicated by its distinctive colour or other qualities. *Karumboṇ* (கரும்பொன்)—black metal — signified iron, *Veṇboṇ* (வெண்பொன்)—white metal—signified silver. *Aimboṇ* (ஐம்பொன்) is a compound of five metals.<sup>163</sup> In course of time, however, the irresistible fascination of the yellow metal made it the metal *par excellence*. Hence the word *Pon* came to be restricted to gold. In due course, *pon* became a synonym for wealth. The goddess of wealth is styled *Pon*.

**Malar :** In the world of flowers, the Lotus holds a unique place. *Centāmarai* (செந்தாமரை)—the red Lotus, is a perennial source of delight for the poet and has formed the theme for ‘the devout effusion of sacred eloquence.’ *Centāmarai* is cherished as the seat of the Goddess of Riches, and *Veṇṭāmarai* (வெண்தாமரை) is venerated as the seat of the Goddess of Learning. In Jainism Arhat (அருகன்) is hailed as ‘The Lord who walked on the Lotus flower.’<sup>164</sup> Thus the Jaina poets vied with the Hindu bards in celebrating the Lotus. These

159. தென்தமிழ்நாட்டகன் பொதியில் ..என்றும் அவன் உறைவிடமாம்-கம்ப. நாடவிட்ட. 31.

160. சிலப். மங்கல. 14-18.

161. கலைபுணர்வார் பலர்தாமும் தொன்று தொட்டிந் நாள்வரையும் கடல் குழ்பாரின் நிலைபெறுபொன் மலைவெள்ளி மலையாதி யனகோடி நிலவக்கண்டும் புலைவெறுத்துச் சாபமிட்ட புகழ்முனிவன் வசிப்பிடமாம் பொதியை யென்னும் மலையழகு மிகப்பொலிதல் உணர்ந்தன்றோ மலையம் என வகுக்கின்றாரே. புலவர் புராணம், பொதியாசல. 44.

162. தூண்டிற்பொன் மீன்விழுங்கி யற்று, திருக்குறள், 931.

163. ஐம்பொன்-பொன், வெள்ளி, செம்பு, இரும்பு, ஈயம்-Tamil Lexicon.

164. மலர்மிசை நடந்த மலரடி-சிலப். நாடுகாண். 204.

traditions naturally led to the restriction of the general terms *pū* (பூ) and *Malar* (மலர்) to the Lotus flower.<sup>165</sup> The expressions *pātamalar* (பாதமலர்) and *malarāḍi* (மலராடி) raise at once the image of the Lotus-like feet of the Lord, in our mind.<sup>166</sup>

**Ilai :** The term *ilai* (இலை) denotes the leaves of all trees and plants except the palm.<sup>167</sup> Gradually however it came to be restricted to the leaves that were largely used in daily life. The plantain-leaf—perhaps the largest of the leaves—served as the eating-plate and the betel-leaf was used for chewing. These two leaves are denoted by the term *ilai*. *Ilai-vāṇiyaṇ* (இலை வாணியன்)—a corruption of *ilai-vāṇihan* (இலைவாணிகன்) refers to the person “whose sole occupation is the cultivation of the betel creeper and selling of its leaves.”<sup>168</sup> The English word betel is a corruption of the Tamil word *verrilai* (வெற்றிலை)—the name by which the betel-leaf is commonly known in the Tamil country. “Betel passed into English through the Portuguese where it has assumed the form betre or betle.”<sup>169</sup>

The betel has been the poor man's luxury from the earliest times and Marco Polo has testified to its universal use in the Pāṇḍya country in the 13th century.<sup>169a</sup> It is regarded in South India as the symbol of happiness and prosperity and hence freely distributed on auspicious occasions. A person who has not the wherewithal to chew betel is considered to be a wretch.<sup>170</sup>

A similar restriction has taken place in the meaning of the word *pacilai* (பச்சிலை). In ancient poetry *pacilai* is used in the general sense of green leaf.<sup>171</sup> But in modern usage it is restricted to the leaves having medicinal properties. The proverb that “the healing herb in the backyard is not utilised for medicine” (புழைக்கடைப்பச்சிலை மருந்துக்குதவாது) illustrates the truth of the old saying that familiarity breeds contempt.

165. பூவெண்ப்படுவது பொறிவாழ் பூவே-நால்வர் நாண்மணி. 40.

166. போற்றியருளுக நின்னாதிபயம் பாதமலர், திருவாசகம், திருவெம். 20

167. தொல். பொருள். 641, 642.

168. Tamil Lexicon.

169. Hobson-Jobson.

169a. Marco Polo's Travels, p. 324.

170. வாய்க்கிலை யறிதலில்லான்-சிந்தாமணி, 1230; வெற்றிலை என்றுங் கண்டறியாதவன்-நச்சினூர்க்கினியர் உரை.

171. யாவர்க்குமா மிறைவற்கொரு பச்சிலை-திருமந்திரம், 252.

*Mān*: The restriction in sense that has occurred in the terminology of wild life is no less significant. Originally the one-letter word 'mā' (மா) signified animal in general. Different species of wild life were denoted by words expressive of their distinctive features or attributes. *Kaimmā* (கைம்மா) denoted the elephant; *pāymā* (பாய்மா) the horse; *arimā* (அரிமா) the lion; *muḷmā* (முள்மா) the porcupine; *kavari mā* (கவரிமா) a kind of deer, *Karu-mā* (கருமா) the pig and so forth.<sup>172</sup> As one-letter words in Tamil usually take nasal terminations for self-preservation or better enunciation *mā* became *mān* (மான்).<sup>173</sup> Thus originally there was no difference in sense between *mā* and *mān*. In course of time, however, the term *mān* came to be restricted to the species of wild life known as deer.

*Ān*: Another one-letter word that has undergone a restriction in sense is *ā* (ஆ). 'ā' (ஆ) became *ān* (ஆன்) just as *mā* (மா) became *mān* (மான்). This word originally signified the female of the ox, the deer and the buffalo.<sup>174</sup> But usage has restricted it to the cow.

*Kanru*: The history of *kanru* (கன்று) is equally significant. It was originally a term common to the young of the elephant, the horse, the ass, the elk, the cow, the buffalo and some other creatures.<sup>175</sup> But in modern usage *kanru* is restricted to the young of the cow and the buffalo. In the colloquial dialect, *kanru* is corrupted into *kanṇu* and *kuṭṭi* a word which signifies the young of certain creatures<sup>176</sup> is added to it. Thus *Kanṇu-k-kuṭṭi* (கன்னுக்குட்டி) has become the common name for calf. The expression *kanṇuviḍal* (கன்னுவிடல்) literally means 'letting the calf.' As this is preliminary to milking the cow or buffalo, *kanṇuviḍal* denotes 'milking.'

*Andaṇan*: The names of the castes and tribes of South India afford remarkable instances of contraction. *Andaṇan* (அந்தணன்), literally means man of grace.' The quality of grace is indicated

172. யானை (மதமா, பெருமா, மந்தமா, மருண்மா).

புலி (வயமா, வெல்லுமா, பாய்மா); பன்றி (கருமா மைம்மா, கோட்டுமா); காட்டுப்பசு (ஆமா, கவயமா).

173. ஆ, மா, கோ, எவ்வணையவும்பெறுமே—நன்னூல், 248.

அரிமா, அரிமான் (சிங்கம்); கவரிமா, கவரிமான் (ஒருவகைமான்);

ஆமா, ஆமான் (காட்டுப்பசு); கருமா, கருமான் (குதிரை).

174. திவாகரம்.

175. தொல். பொருள். 570, 571, 572, 573.

176. தொல். பொருள். 565, 568.

by the word *tan* (தண்) which is inserted between the prefix *am* (அம்) and the suffix *an* (அன்). The exalted sense of the word is explained in the couplet :

அந்தணர் என்போர் அறவோர் மற்றெவ்வுயிர்க்கும்  
செந்தண்மை பூண்டொழுக லான்.<sup>177</sup>

It is obvious that any person who has in him the Divine quality of grace is entitled to the name *andaṇan*.<sup>178</sup> But it has come to denote a caste or community in South India.

*Veḷāḷan* : Similarly the etymological sense of *Veḷāḷan* (வேளாள்) is farmer or cultivator. *Veḷ* is an archaic word which signifies the earth.<sup>179</sup> It is possible that the people who cleared the land of wild growth and made it fit for cultivation were called *Vēḷāḷar* (*Veḷ*—land, *āḷar*—owner).<sup>180</sup> The term *Vēḷāḷar* has now become the name of a community.

*Vāṇiyan* : The word *Vāṇiyan* (வாணியன்) which is a corruption of *Vāṇihan* (வாணிகன்) has undergone a curious restriction. *Vāṇihan* was originally a general name for hawker or merchant. The names of different commodities were prefixed to the term *vāṇihan*, to distinguish between vendors of different articles. Thus we have *ilai-vāṇihan* (இலை வாணிகன்), *appa vāṇihan* (அப்ப வாணிகன்), *piṭṭu vāṇihan* (பிட்டு வாணிகன்), *kūla vāṇihan* (கூல வாணிகன்), etc. Cātṭanār, the illustrious author of Maṇimēhalai was known as *Kūla-vāṇihan-cātṭanār* (கூலவாணிகன் சாத்தனார்) as he was a grain merchant. But the term *vāṇiyan* now denotes the oil monger. The restriction is probably due to the large volume of business conducted by the oil merchant

177. திருக்குறள், 30.

178. அந்தணர் என்பது அழகிய தட்பத்தினையுடையாரென ஏதுப்பெயராகவின், அஃது அவ்வருளுடையார் மேலன்றிச் செல்லாதென்பது கருத்து (திருக்குறள், 30, பரிமேலழகர் உரை) அந்தத்தை அணவுவார் அந்தணர் என்பர் நச்சினூர்க்கினியர்.

179. The derivation of *vēḷāṇmai* and *vēḷāḷan* from *vēḷ* appears to be more natural than the derivation favoured by Caldwell and Kanakasabhai Pillai. According to these scholars *Vēḷāḷar*—the lords of the flood—is a title expressive of their skill in controlling floods. However *vēḷ* in the sense of earth is not found in ancient literary usage. The Tamil Lexicon has given this meaning on the authority of the Jaffna Dictionary. Cf., however *vēḷ-kō* (வேட்கோ) *vēḷ*+*kō*=potter.

180. The title *kiḷār* (கிழார்) conferred on *Vēḷāḷas* perhaps indicates that they had full proprietary rights in the soil cultivated by them. (*Kiḷamai*—right).

from the earliest times. The use of the gingili oil by the people of South India for various purposes naturally created a large and daily demand for it. "Give to the oil monger and keep the doctor away" is a proverb in Tamil.<sup>181</sup> Thus the important part that the dealer in oil played in the social economy of South India has led to the restriction of the general term *vāṇiyaṇ* to the oil merchant.

*Maṛavar*: The word *maṛavar* (மறவர்) originally signified men endowed with military prowess. The primary sense of *maṛam* (மறம்) is heroism. The heroic chastity of Kaṇṇahi is styled *maṛa-k-kaṇṇu* (மறக்கற்பு) by the commentator of Cilappadihāram.<sup>182</sup> The undaunted men who delighted in the performance of heroic deeds and who felt that a day passed without a deed of valour was a day lived in vain, were honoured with the title of *maṛavar*. An old poem speaks of "the furious *Maṛavars*, whose curled beards resemble the twisted horns of the stag, the loud twang of whose powerful bowstrings and the stirring sound of whose double-headed drums, compel even kings at the head of large armies to turn their back and fly."<sup>183</sup> But now the term *maṛavar* denotes a community in South India whose main occupation is agriculture.

*Rāvuttar*: The term *Rāvuttar* (ராவத்தர்) is used in the southern districts with reference to Muhammadans. *Raut* is a Urdu word which signifies a cavalier. The plural suffix 'ar' is commonly used as an honorific singular pronominal termination in the southern speech. This military term has now been adopted as the general title of the Muhammadan community.

*Āmakkaḷ*: It is remarkable that popular usage has effected corruptions and introduced restrictions in violation of literary and grammatical usage. *Makkaḷ* (மக்கள்) for instance is a general term of plurality common to the masculine and feminine genders. Thus *āṇ-makkaḷ* refers to the general body of men in human society and *peṇ-makkaḷ* signifies womankind. Curiously the compound *āṇ-makkaḷ* has been corrupted into *āmakkaḷ* (ஆமக்கள்)<sup>183a</sup> and employed to denote husband in the vulgar dialect. The plural term has been put to a singular use. In the same way the term *peṇ-cāṭi* (பெண்சாதி)

181. வைத்தியனுக்குக் கொடுப்பதை வாணியனுக்குக் கொடுப்பதென்று.

182. வீரபத்தினி-மறக்கற்புடையாள் : சிலப். பதிகம், 42, அடி. உரை.

183. Tamils Eighteen Hundred years ago, p. 43.

183a. āmakkaṇ (ஆமக்கள்) is a corruption of āmakkaḷ (ஆமக்கள்).

which obviously denotes the entire community of women, is commonly used with reference to wife.

*Ālwār*: The term *Ālwār* (ஆழ்வார்) used with reference to the canonised saints of the Vaishnava religion, is derived from the root *al* (ஆழ்) which contains the sense of immersion. The saints and seers of the Jaina and Buddhist religions have also been styled *Ālwārs*. The restriction of the general term *Ālwār* to the high souls immersed in contemplation is indicative of the popular faith in the efficacy of meditation as a means of attaining salvation.

*Aḍiyār*: *Aḍiyār* (அடியார்) derived from *aḍi* (foot) commonly signifies persons who render service. In the terminology of religion it denotes the devotees. This signification is obviously based on the conception that God is the Lord of the universe and that the human soul can rise to its fullest height by devoted and loyal service.

*Cēvahan*: *Cēvahan* (சேவகன்) is derived from the Sanskrit *śēva* which signifies service. From the sovereign<sup>184</sup> who performs the stupendous service of protecting his subjects down to the humblest person who renders some service or other to himself or to his fellow-men, every one is therefore a *Cēvahan*. However the restriction of the term in modern language to the policeman who is charged with the duty of maintaining order, is perhaps an evidence of the recognition by the people of the paramount necessity of preserving peace and order for the proper functioning of human society.

*Uḍaimai*: The restriction in the signification of certain words is indicative of the social opinions that prevailed in ancient times. The literal sense of *uḍaimai* (உடைமை) is possession.<sup>185</sup> It signifies not only the possession of earthly goods but of every quality of head or heart with which a person is endowed. *Arivuḍaimai* (அறிவுடைமை) is possession of knowledge; *Oḷukkamuḍaimai* (ஒழுக்கமுடைமை) is possession of character; *Poruḷuḍaimai* (பொருளுடைமை) is possession of wealth. The man possessed of wealth is generally honoured and respected by society. Hence the general term *uḍaimai* (உடைமை) is restricted to the possession of wealth. The possessor of wealth is called *uḍaiyār* (உடையார்).

184. சேவகன்ஐர் கேளாத செனியென்ன செவியே-சிலப். ஆய்ச்சியர் குரவை.

185. எல்லாம்உன் அடிமையே எல்லாம்உன் உடைமையே-தாயுமானவர் பாடல், 49.



*Inmai*: The opposite of *udaimai* (உடைமை) is *inmai* (இன்மை). It is derived from the root 'il' (இல்) and signifies the negation of possession. But *illāṇ* (இல்லான்) denotes the person destitute of riches. In the couplet of Tiruvaḷḷuvar

உடையார்முன் இல்லார்போல் ஏக்கற்றுங் கற்றார்  
கடையரே கல்லா தவர்,<sup>186</sup>

*udaiyār* (உடையார்) and *illār* (இல்லார்) are used in the sense of 'haves' and 'have-nots.' The semantic contraction of these terms exemplifies the truth of the aphorism, (பொருளில்லார்க்கு இவ்வுலக மில்லை)<sup>187</sup> "this world is not for those that are without riches."

*Pēru*: The restriction that has taken place in the sense of the term *pēru* (பேறு) testifies to the fact that children were regarded as an invaluable treasure by the ancient Tamil community. *Pēru* is derived from the root *Peṛu* (பெறு) and signifies an acquisition.

"Of all that men acquire, we know not any greater gain,  
Than that which by the birth of learned children men obtain,"<sup>188</sup>

says the poet. The parents are called *peṛrōr* (பெற்றோர்) and the time of parturition or delivery is known as *pēru-kālam*.

*iḷavu*; The word *iḷavu* (இழவு) comes from the root 'iḷa' (இழ) and signifies loss. It is therefore applicable to all kinds of loss. In poetry *iḷavu* (இழவு) is used in this general sense.<sup>189</sup> The destiny which is responsible for loss is denoted by the term *iḷavai* (இழவழி) in Tirukkuṟaḷ.<sup>190</sup> But a comparative sense of values gradually led to the restriction of the word *iḷavu* (இழவு) to the loss of human life. *Iḷavōlai* (இழவோலை) denotes funeral intimation; *iḷavu-viḍu* (இழவு வீடு) corrupted into *iḷaviḍu* refers to a house where death has taken place.

*Aṟuppu*: Several words are derived from the root 'aṟu' (அறு)—to cut. *Aṟai* (அறை), *aṟuvai* (அறுவை), and *aṟuppu* (அறுப்பு) are

186. திருக்குறள், 395.

187. திருக்குறள், 247.

188. திருக்குறள், 61.

189. எளியேனுற்றால் யாவது எனக்கிங் கிழவென்றான்-கம்ப. ஊர்தேடு. 83.

190. திருக்குறள், 372.

derived from a common root. The apartment of a house is known as *arai* (அறை). *Aruvai* (அறுவை) is a literary word which means cloth. A piece of specific dimensions cut out of a long cloth woven in the loom has been aptly called *aruvai* (அறுவை). *Aruppu* (அறுப்பு) literally means the act of cutting. As agriculture is the general occupation of the great bulk of the people of South India, *aruppu* (அறுப்பு) and *aruvadai* (அறுவடை) are restricted to the act of cutting the crops and reaping the harvest. The expression *aruppu-k-kālam* (அறுப்புக் காலம்) signifies the harvest season. It is worthy of note that *aruttal* also denotes the cutting or severance of the marital tie. The cutting of the *iāli* (தாலி), the symbol of wedlock, indicates the dissolution of marital relations or the commencement of widowhood. Hence *aruttaval* (அறுத்தவர்) signifies the widow. In the colloquial dialect of the South the expression *aruppu-c-cuham* (அறுப்புச் சுகம்) refers to the maintenance to which a widow is entitled, out of the estate of her deceased husband.

*Paṇḍam*: *Paṇḍam* (பண்டம்) is a general term for commodity. The ancient system of barter is known as *paṇḍamāruru* (பண்டமாற்று), exchange of commodities. The store-house of commodities is called *paṇḍa-sālai* (பண்டசாலை). The cart came to be known as *paṇḍi* (பண்டி) probably because its main purpose in the olden days was the transport of commodities from place to place. There is evidence in Tamil literature to show that ancient times persons of rank or distinction used the palanquin and the mule for locomotion.<sup>191</sup> The name of the mule—*kōvērū-kaḷuthai* (கோவேறு கழுதை) indicates the purpose served by this beast of burden in primitive times. The practice of conveying commodities by means of country carts still prevails in South India. Though the common term used with reference to the cart is *vaṇḍi* (வண்டி) in the modern language, there is hardly any doubt that *paṇḍi* is the primitive form of the word.<sup>192</sup>

The obscuration of the etymological sense of *paṇḍi* has led to the expansion of its scope. The spring-cart is known as *vil-vaṇḍi* (வில்

191. அறத்தாறிதுவென வேண்டா சிவிகை  
பொறுத்தா னோரேந்தா னிடை—திருக்குறள், 37.

192. மல்லலந் தெங்கின நீர்பெய் பண்டியும்  
மெல்லிலைப் பண்டியும் கழுகின் மேதகு  
பல் பழுக் காய்க்குலை பெய்த பண்டியும்  
ஒல்குதீம் பண்டம் பெய்தொழுகு பண்டியும்—சிந்தாமணி, 62.

In Telugu and Kanarese, *Baṇḍi* signifies the cart. The English word *Bāṇḍi* is a corruption of this form.

வண்டி); the railway train *Rayil-vaṇḍi* (ரயில் வண்டி) and so forth. The rural folk who are conscious of the rising dignity and rapid extension of the term *vaṇḍi* have deemed it necessary to distinguish the country cart by attaching to *vaṇḍi* the archaic word *cahaḍam* which, in virtue of its ancient flavour is perhaps best fitted to denote the primitive type of carriage. Thus the doublet *cahaḍa-vaṇḍi* (சகட வண்டி) now corrupted into *cakkadāvaṇḍi* (சக்கடா வண்டி) signifies the plain, open country-cart used mainly for the conveyance of commodities. It is remarkable that *paṇḍam* (பண்டம்) which gave rise to *paṇḍi* (பண்டி) is restricted in modern popular usage to cakes and sweet-meats.

*Podi*: The literal sense of *podī* (பொடி) is dust or powder.<sup>193</sup> The sacred ashes are denoted by the term *poḍi* in *Tēvāram*<sup>194</sup> In popular parlance tooth-powder is called *Paṭ-podī* (பற்பொடி) and chilli-powder *miḷahāi-p-podī* (மிளகாய்ப்பொடி). But the restriction of the word *podī* to snuff in modern usage is perhaps indicative of the popularity of tobacco-powder as a stimulant in South India. The expression *Paṭṭaṇam poḍi* (பட்டணம்பொடி) does not refer to the dust of the city but to the high class snuff manufactured in the city (of Madras).

*Kalavai*: The luxurious life led by the upper classes in ancient Tamil India may be understood from the restriction of the general term *kalavai* (கலவை) — mixture — to the sweet-smelling paste consisting of sandal and other odorous ingredients.<sup>195</sup>

## EXPANSION

*Ellai*: *el*, *elli* and *ellai* (எல், எல்லி, எல்லை) denote day or day-light.<sup>196</sup> It is natural that the setting of the sun and the consequent disappearance of light marked a definite limit of time to the primitive man who was unaware of the modern contrivances of

193. மெய்யிற் பொடியும் விரித்த கருங்குழலும்—சிலப். வழக்கு. வெண்பா.

194. பொடியேறு திருமேனி பொலிந்து தோன்றும்-திருநாவுக்கரசர் தேவாரம், திருப்புவணம், 1.

195. மாடுமுத நறுங்கலவை வயக்களிற்றின் சிந்துரத்தை மாறுகொள்ள—கம்ப. ஊர்தேடு. 217.

196. எல்-பகற்பொழுது ; எல்லடிப் படுத்த கல்லாக் காட்சி—புறம். 170 : 3.

எல்லி-பகற்பொழுது ; இரவோ டெல்லியு மேத்துவார்—தேவாரம்.

எல்லை-பகற்பொழுது ; எல்லையு மிரவும் துயில் துறந்து-கவித்தொகை, 123.

dispelling darkness. The primitive people who lived a natural life, saw the animate world terminating its activities at the close of the day. The birds ceased to sing and sought repose; the flowers, with few exceptions closed their petals. In fact the conduct of every significant object in Nature indicated that sun-set was a limit. Thus *ellai* (எல்லை) came to denote limit. The modern sense of boundary or territorial limit has been acquired by an extension of its application from the limit of time to the limit of space.

*Cuḍar*: The word *cuḍar* (சுடர்) is obviously derived from the root *cuḍu* (சுடு) which contains the idea of heat. It was naturally applied in the first instance to the sun and fire which emit heat.<sup>197</sup> In these natural elements light is inseparably connected with heat. Hence, *cuḍar* (சுடர்) came to denote light as well. Luminous bodies such as the moon and the planets also are now denoted by the term.<sup>197a</sup>

*Urai*: The semantic history of the word *urai* (உரை) is one of systematic expansion. The original sense of *urai* (உரை) is expression. *Muhavurai*, (முகவுரை), *aṇḍurai* (அணிந்துரை), *puṇḍaindurai* (புனைந்துரை) and *puravurai* (புறவுரை) signify the foreword.<sup>198</sup> The first stage of expansion is marked by its acquiring the sense of exposition. An explanation, annotation or commentary came to be called *urai* (உரை). The terms *padavurai* (பதவுரை), *poliṭṭurai* (பொழிப்புரை) *karutturai* (கருத்துரை), *cirṭurai* (சிற்றுரை) and *ahalavurai* (அகலவுரை) denote different kinds of exposition.<sup>199</sup> The next stage in the semantic progress of the word is reached when it is employed to denote the medium of exposition. Thus *Urai* (உரை) conveys the sense of prose. *Uraināḍai* (உரைநடை) is prose style. A composition or an essay in prose is commonly denoted by the term *kaṭṭurai* (கட்டுரை).<sup>200</sup> In the modern journalistic world *urai* (உரை) is being used with reference to lectures or addresses. *Mṇṇṇurai* (முன்னுரை)—Introductory Speech; *Muḍivurai* (முடிவுரை) is concluding speech; *Vāṭṭurai* (வாழ்த்துரை) is

197. சுடர் சுட்ட சுரத்தேறி-புறம். 136. விளக்கினுள் ஒன்சுடர்-நாலடியார், 189.

197a. சுடர்க்கெலாம் நாயக மனையதோர் மாலை நல்கினுள் - கம்ப. மந்தரை சூழ்ச்சி. 52.

198. நன்னூல்-பொதுப்பாயிரம், 1.

199. நன்னூல்-பொதுப்பாயிரம், 21.

200. கட்டுரை-பொருள் பொதிந்த சொல்; உறுதியையுடைய

சொல்லுமாம்-சிலப். பதின்க, 54-அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் உரை.

கலைப்பயில் தெளிவும் கட்டுரை வன்மையும்-நன்னூல், பொதுப்பாயிரம், 26.

valedictory address and so forth. Thus through successive stages of easy and natural transition *urai* has expanded from expression to exposition, from exposition to composition in prose and finally from composition to platform oration.

*Puḷḷi* *Puḷḷi* (புள்ளி) is a dot. The consonant in Tamil is known as *Puḷḷi* because the dot over the letter constitutes its characteristic sign.<sup>201</sup> In the modern journalistic usage the word *puḷḷi* (புள்ளி) has acquired the sense of statistics. Statistical information or facts and figures are commonly denoted by the expression, *puḷḷi-vivaram* (புள்ளி விவரம்). In the colloquial dialect *Puḷḷi* conveys the sense of a specified or noted person. A deserving person is *perumbuḷḷi* (பெரும் புள்ளி); a worthless person is *veṟumbuḷḷi* (வெறும் புள்ளி) and so forth.

*Māṟṟam*; *Māṟṟam* (மாற்றம்) is derived from *māru* (மாறு) which signifies change. An exchange of commodities is known as *paṇḍa-māru*. Gold which commands a high exchange-value is denoted by the expression *māṟṟuyarnda poṇ* (மாற்றுயர்ந்த பொன்). Thus *māṟṟam* (மாற்றம்) literally signifies a word exchanged or a reply. However, it is not restricted in literary usage to the reply but employed to denote in general a word spoken or written. This extension of sense must have taken place very early in the history of the Tamil Language, since *māṟṟam* has been used in the ancient poems in the sense of word.<sup>202</sup> It is remarkable that *Māṟṟa* (Telugu) which corresponds to *māṟṟam* (Tamil) conveys also the same sense.

*Paccai*: The word *paccai* (பச்சை) is obviously connected with *pasumai* (பசுமை) which is the natural colour of the living plants and trees. In course of time *paccai* came to denote the quality of a thing existing in its natural state. Unbaked earth is *paccai maṇ* (பச்சை மண்) in contra-distinction to *cuṭṭa maṇ* (சுட்ட மண்)—baked earth.<sup>203</sup> Unboiled water is known as *paccai-t-ṭaṇṇir* (பச்சைத் தண்ணீர்) in the popular dialect of the southern districts. An unsophisticated child is referred to as *paccai-k-kulanthai* (பச்சைக் குழந்தை). The idea of rawness is also associated with the term *paccai*. Raw rice is known as *paccarisi* (பச்சரிசி) which is distinguished from *pulukkariṣi* (பழுக்கரிசி) boiled rice. A medicine prepared from drugs in a raw state is commonly called *paccai-veṭṭu-marundu* (பச்சை வெட்டு மருந்து).

201. மெய்யி னியற்கை புள்ளியொடு நிறையல்—தொல். எழுத்து. 15.

202. விடுமாற்றம் வேந்தர்க் குரைப்பான்—திருக்குறள், 689.

203. சுட்டமண்ணும் பச்சைமண்ணும் ஒட்டுமா?—பழமொழி.

*Cembu*: *Cembu* (செம்பு) signifies copper. It is evident that the colour of the metal has been the dominant factor in determining its name. This metal was perhaps largely used in primitive times for making drinking vessels of a particular shape and size. The name of the metal viz., *cembu* was adopted as the name of the vessel. In course of time, however, the word was associated with the vessel and dissociated from the metal of which it was made. Hence vessels of that size and shape made of any metal came to be called *cembu* (செம்பு).<sup>204</sup> The name of the metal concerned however is usually prefixed to *cembu* to denote its composition. Thus *pittalai-c-cembu* (பித்தளைச் செம்பு); *velli-c-cembu* (வெள்ளிச் செம்பு); *taṅga-c-cembu* (தங்கச் செம்பு); and *ceppu-c-cembu* (செப்புச் செம்பு) are commonly used as the incongruity of the combinations is not noticed by the community.

*Mai*: The original meaning of *mai* (மை) is blackness. Gradually objects bearing the black pigment used for tinting the eye-lids, the lubricant for the country cart, the black ink are all denoted by the word *mai*. In modern usage, however, the word *mai* used with reference to writing signifies not merely the black ink but any coloured liquid. Hence the expressions *civappu mai* (சிவப்பு மை) and *paccai mai* (பச்சை மை) are commonly used. The extension of the semantic scope of this word has rendered it necessary to indicate the black ink by the expression *karuppu mai* (கறுப்பு மை).

*Karai*: Similarly the word *karai* (கறை) derived from the crude root *kar* signifies blackness. The black stain in the throat of the Lord Siva is styled *karai*.<sup>205</sup> But in modern usage *karai* simply means stain. Yellow-stain is *maṅjal-karai* (மஞ்சள் கறை) and blood stain *Iratta-k-karai* (இரத்தக் கறை). This extension has naturally led to the black stain being called *karuppu-k-karai*.

*Urdal*: The verbal noun *urdal* (from *ūr*-to crawl) was originally used in the sense of crawling or moving slowly. In the classification of the animate world the crawling creatures are denoted by the term

204. *Combu* (சொம்பு) is a corruption of *cembu* (செம்பு) in the colloquial dialect. The change of *e* into *o* is a common feature in the colloquial dialect, e.g., *petti* (பெட்டி) > *potti* (பொட்டி)

*ceruhu* (செருகு) > *coruhu* (சொருகு)

*meḷuhu* (மெழுகு) > *moḷuhu* (மொழுகு)

*mella* (மெல்ல) > *mella* (மெள்ள) > *molḷa* (மொள்ள).

205. கறைமிடற்றிறை-கம்ப. திருவவதார. 14.

*ūrvāṇa* (ஊர்வன).<sup>206</sup> The verbal noun *ūrđi* (ஊர்தி) derived from the root *ūr* was probably applied to the slow coach in the first instance and then extended to every kind of carriage. The aerial coach is signified by the term *vāṇa-ūrđi* (வான ஊர்தி) in an old poem.<sup>207</sup> The moon which seems to crawl across the clouds in the sky is described by the charming phrase *vāṇūr-madiyam* (வானூர் மதியம்) in *cilappadhāram*.<sup>208</sup>

*Enṇei*: *Enṇei* (எண்ணெய்) —*eḷ* + *nei*—literally signifies *gingili* oil.<sup>209</sup> In course of time, however, the etymological import of the term was forgotten and it came to denote oil in general. Hence the oil extracted from seeds other than sesame is also signified by the term *eṇṇei*. The oil extracted from castor seeds is called *āmaṇakku eṇṇei* (ஆமணக்கு எண்ணெய்). Coconut oil is *iṇṇēḡḡy eṇṇei* (தேங்காய் எண்ணெய்). The application of the term is not confined to the oil extracted from seeds and nuts, but is extended to all kinds of oily substances. Codliver-oil is *mīṇ-eṇṇei* (மீன் எண்ணெய்). Kerosine oil is *maṇ-eṇṇei* (மண் எண்ணெய்). The purpose for which the oil is used sometimes determines its name. The castor oil used for lamps is known as *viḷakkeṇṇei* (விளக்கெண்ணெய்).<sup>210</sup> The wide expansion of *eṇṇei* necessitated a revision of the original semantic values. Since the term *eṇṇei* could not specifically denote *gingili* oil, popular usage has adopted the device of distinguishing it by a participial prefix which indicates its quality. *Nalleṇṇei* (நல்லெண்ணெய்)—good or wholesome oil, signifies *gingili* oil in the colloquial dialect. The oil extracted from black sesame *kār-eḷ* (காரெள்) is commonly known as *kāreḷ-eṇṇei* (காரெள் எண்ணெய்). The repetition of the word *eḷ* (எள்) in this compound is obviously due to the obscuration of the etymological sense of *eṇṇei*.

## DEGRADATION

*Kāmam*: The word *kāmam* (காமம்) is generally banished from the language of decent society on account of its degradation. *Kāmi*

206. தெரிவாக ஊர்வன நடப்பன பறப்பன-தாயுமானவர் பாடல், 5.

207. வலவனேவா வான ஊர்தி-புறம். 27, 8.

208. சிலப். மங்கல. 50.

209. In the colloquial dialect *eṇṇei* (எண்ணெய்) is corrupted into *eṇṇay* (எண்ணை); Cf. மஞ்சண்ணை (மஞ்சள் + நெய்) —மஞ்சளை; நன்செய்-நஞ்சை.

210. In Malayalam, *veḷicceṇṇai* (வெளிச்செண்ணை) which perhaps means lamp oil is the common name for coconut oil.

(காமி) has been included in the list of persons who are declared ineligible to receive instruction.<sup>211</sup> This disqualification has been imposed obviously on grounds of morality. But there is nothing in the etymological sense of the word to warrant this condemnation. The Sanskrit derivative *kāmaṃ* literally signifies desire. In course of time, however, it was restricted by usage to sexual desire—the most potent and universal of human desires. The God of Love in the Hindu Mythology is known as *Kāmaṇ* and as He awakens love in human hearts he is styled *Kāmaṇē!* (காமவேள்).<sup>212</sup> *Kāmaṃ* is cherished as one of the four objectives of life and the prince of moralists—Thiruvalluvar—did not disdain to use the term *kāmattu-p-pāl* (காமத்துப்பால்) as the caption of the last canto of his classical work.<sup>213</sup>

The cause of the degradation of this term should perhaps be sought in the struggle for existence between *kādal* (காதல்) and *kāmaṃ* (காமம்) which are practically synonymous. In modern usage *kādal* denotes love and *kāmaṃ* is confined to lust.

*Tēvaḍiyā!*: The practice of dedicating girls to the service of God has been in existence from time out of memory. Their service consisted in sweeping and washing the house of the Lord, gathering flowers, making garlands to adorn His image, lighting the halls of the temple at sunset and so forth. The spirit of self-sacrifice and sense of duty that animated these noble girls inspired universal admiration. The high

211. களி மடிமானி காமி கள்வன்.....இன்றோர்க்குப் பகரார் நூலே-நன்னூல், பொதுப்பாயிரம். 39.

212. காமவேள் என்னும் நாமத்தண்ணல், கம்ப. மாயாசனக. 12.

213. மாண்பாய், காமத்தின் பக்கமொரு மூன்றாகக் கட்டுரைத்தார்—

திருவள்ளுவமாலே, 27. The early missionaries who set themselves the task of translating the *Kuṇḍa!* into the European Languages were evidently shocked at this title. Regarding *Kāmattu-p-pāl*, Rev. Drew said that “it could not be translated into any European language without exposing its translator to infamy.” The confessions of Dr. Pope may be considered in this connection. “This prejudice” says Pope, “kept me from reading the third part of the *Kuṇḍa!* for some years; but the idea occurred to me very forcibly that he who wrote

“Spotless be thou in mind! This only merits virtue’s name

All else, mere pomp and idle sound, no real worth can claim,”

could not have covered himself with the spotted infamy of singing a song of lust. Thus I ventured at length to read and study it, when I was able fairly to appreciate its spirit; and, as the result, I translate it, believing that I shall be regarded as having done service in doing so.” — Pope’s *Kuṇḍa!*, Intro., p. 13.



respect in which they were held is indicated by the terms *dēva-dāsi* and *dēva-aḍiyāḷ* (தேவ அடியாள்), the maid-servant of the Lord—used with reference to them. However, the act of dedication gradually became the regular practice of a community, and it was not always dictated by considerations of selfless service. Girls who were not religious-minded and who were reluctant to renounce the pleasures of life were dedicated to the temple with the result that they disgraced the office which they were supposed to adorn. The place of their daily service afforded ample opportunities of courting the gaze of men who came to pray. Thus the term *dēva-aḍiyāḷ* came to denote the courtesan. The degradation which the word has suffered can be understood from the fact that no term of abuse in the Tamil vocabulary is resented more than *tēvaḍiyāḷ* used with reference to a woman, and *tēvaḍiyāḷ mahān* (தேவடியாள் மகன்) used with reference to a man.

*Kūtti* : The art of dancing was very popular in ancient days. It received the munificent patronage of royalty and the nobility.<sup>214</sup> The popularity that it enjoyed was perhaps due to its association with religion. The male dancer was called *kūttan* (கூத்தன்) and the female dancer, *kūtti* (கூத்தி).<sup>215</sup> The terminations ‘an’ and ‘i’ in these words are masculine and feminine suffixes. In course of time, however, the art of dancing came to be confined to the community which dedicated girls to the service of God. The *dēva-dāsi* in addition to her routine services in the temple danced on festive occasions to the delight of the vast concourse of votaries. Thus the terms *dēva-dāsi* and *kūtti* became synonyms. In modern usage *kūtti* denotes the prostitute without any reference to her attainments in the art of dancing.

*Muṇḍai* : The terms *muṇḍan* (முண்டன்) and *muṇḍai* (முண்டை) are derived from the Sanskrit *muṇḍa*. The former denotes a clean-shaven man and the latter a clean-shaven woman. The practice of shaving the head of a woman on the death of her husband led to the word *muṇḍai* being used with reference to the widow. As the woman who survived her husband was considered an execrable creature, whose very sight was an abomination, the term *muṇḍai* has acquired an odious signification.

214. சிலப். அரங்கேற்று. (158-163).

215. சிலப். அரங்கேற்று. கூத்தியதமைதி.

*Kaimpeṇḍāṭṭi*: Another word degraded by the force of social opinion is *kai-m-peṇḍāṭṭi* (கைம்பெண்டாட்டி), widow. Widowhood is denoted by the word *kaimmai* (கைம்மை)<sup>216</sup> in the classical dialect. A widow is known as *kaimpeṇ* (கைம்பெண்). *Peṇḍāṭṭi* (பெண்டாட்டி) which was once commonly used in poetry and elegant prose in the sense of wife is now degraded and consigned to the vocabulary of the vulgar society. It is possible that familiarity has bred contempt for *peṇḍāṭṭi* (பெண்டாட்டி). *Kaimpeṇḍāṭṭi* (கைம்பெண்டாட்டி), a compound containing the term *peṇḍāṭṭi* has suffered a double degradation. The disrepute of the person denoted by it and the degradation of the second member of the compound have contributed to its semantic deterioration. *Kaimpeṇḍāṭṭi* corrupted into *kammanḍāṭṭi* has passed into the vocabulary of Billingsgate.

*Cirukki*: The terms *ciruvan* (சிறுவன்) and *cirukkan* (சிறுக்கன்) denote the boy, and *ciruvi* (சிறுவி) and *cirukki* (சிறுக்கி) denote the girl.<sup>218</sup> The regularity of the formation of these words is obvious. However, these two words have given place to *cirumi* which is the common term for girl in the modern language. *Cirumi* is formed by the substitution of 'm' for 'v'. It has been pointed out by Aḍiyārku-Nallār that the word *cirumi* employed in Cilappadihāram is a dialect of *Kuḍanāḍ*, one of the *Koḍun-tamiḷ* countries.<sup>219</sup> Provincial words have been, from time to time employed by poets of great celebrity and have thus acquired the status of literary words. It is probable that *cirumi* was one of the words whose status was raised by the authority of the poet who pressed it into service. When literary status was thus conferred on it, a struggle for existence between the three words commenced. The result of the contest was perhaps determined by euphony and *cirumi* was selected as the fittest word to survive. The defeat sustained by the indigenous words, led to the degradation of the one and the extinction of the other. *Cirukki* is now used as a term of disrespect or abuse and *ciruvi* is found only in archaic poetry.

*Tūrrutal*: The primitive sense of *tūrru* (தூற்று) is to broadcast. If the virtues of a person are broadcast or proclaimed the expression

216. ஒண்ணுதல் மகளிர் கைம்மை கூர — புறம். 25, 12.

217. செல்வப் பெண்டாட்டி—திருப்பாவை, 11.

218. ஆவினிலை வளர்ந்த சிறுக்கன்—பெரியாழ்வார், 1, 4, 7.

சிறுக்கிகள் உறவாமோ—திருப்புகழ், 145.

சிறுவி-மகள், குடாமணி நிகண்டு.

219. தொல். சொல். 400, உரை.

*cir-tūrral* (சீர் தூற்றல்)<sup>220</sup> is employed to denote the act. If, on the other hand, the vices of a person are proclaimed the act is signified by the term *avatūru* (அவதூறு). The common nature of man to suppress the virtues and proclaim the vices of his fellow-men is reflected in the restriction of the term *tūru* or *tūrral* to the publication of vices or demerits. Thus in the modern language *tūrrutal* (தூற்றுதல்) definitely signifies slandering or speaking ill of a person.

*Puraṅgūral*: The depravity of human nature is also reflected in the change that has taken place in the meaning of the expression *puraṅgūral*—(புறங்கூறல்)—*puram*—back, *kūral*—speaking, which literally means speaking behind one's back. It is the tendency of human nature to flatter a man to his face and speak ill of him behind his back. There are persons good and true who never speak ill of others either in their presence or in their absence. But these virtuous persons are so rare that their nature is an exception which proves the rule. The reprehensible but common habit of humanity accounts for the restriction and degradation of the expression *puraṅgūral*. Back biting is denoted by it in the modern language.<sup>221</sup>

*Puhal*: The ancient Tamils considered it a meritorious act to afford shelter and protection to an afflicted person who sought refuge. The word *puhal* (புகல்) derived from the root *puhu* (புகு)—to enter—signifies the act of seeking protection and as an appeal for protection was seldom refused, *puhal* came to denote a refuge.<sup>222</sup> A place of refuge is known as *puhalidaṇ* or *puhalūr*. The word of protection was regarded as a sacred promise worthy of any sacrifice. Ancient literature speaks of the glory of the high-souled men who ungrudgingly sacrificed their lives in the cause of the sacred trust committed to their charge.<sup>223</sup> The deterioration of this term which is associated with the lofty ideal of self-sacrifice is sufficient evidence of the moral degeneracy of modern society. *Puhal vārttai* (புகல் வார்த்தை) in the modern popular usage signifies not a word of assurance but an insincere or evasive word.<sup>224</sup>

220. சீரெல்லாம் தூற்றிச் சிறுமை புறங்கூத்து—நீதிநெறி விளக்கம், 20.  
தன்னியார் குற்றமும் தூற்று மியல்பினார்—திருக்குறள், 188.

221. புறங்கூறிப் பொய்த்துயிர் வாழ்தலிற் சாதல்  
அறங்கூறு மாக்கந் தரும்—திருக்குறள், 183.

222. பற்றுதலின் நியுண்டோ புகலெமைப் பகர்கின்றனை—கம்ப. வீடணன், 108.

223. கம்ப. வீடணன் அடைக்கலப் படலம், 110-116.

224. புகல் வார்த்தை—பேராக்குச் சொல்—Tamil Lexicon.

*Cūlacci*: The root *cūl* (சூழ்) literally means to surround. *Cūlal* (சூழல்), a verbal noun derived from this root signifies an enclosure. *Cūlacci* (சூழ்ச்சி), another noun derived from the same root denotes the act of comprehending a thing in all its aspects or of considering a question from all possible points of view. A person who is endowed with this capacity is known as *cūlvāṇ* (சூழ்வான்)<sup>225</sup>. In modern usage, however, *cūlacci* has acquired an uncomplimentary sense. It is generally associated with intrigue, diplomacy or conspiracy. The degradation of the term is perhaps due to the ordinary human frailty of putting noble gifts to ignoble uses.

*Āṇḍi*: *Āṇḍi* (ஆண்டி) is derived from the root *āḷ* (ஆள்) which forms the base of the words *āṇḍai* (ஆண்டை), *āṇḍāṇ* (ஆண்டான்), *āḷi* (ஆளி), etc. The Lord of Paḷaṇi is popularly known as *Paḷaṇiyāṇḍy* and *Āṇḍippaṇḍāram* in the familiar ballad refers to him. The Lord of Tiruchendūr situated on the sea-shore is popularly known as *kaḍal-karai-āṇḍi*. The term *āṇḍi*, however, is now restricted to the Saiva mendicant.<sup>226</sup> The expression *pūccāṇḍi* (பூச்சாண்டி) frequently invoked by parents to frighten children into submission, probably signifies the mendicant whose body is smeared with holy ashes and sandal paste presenting an odd appearance.<sup>227</sup>

*Pāvi*: *Pāvi* (பாவி) signifies a sinner. *Appāvi* (அப்பாவி) denotes a sinless person, as the initial 'a' is a negative prefix. In modern usage, however, *appāvi* denotes an artless, credulous simpleton. "This deflection from the original sense," says Trench, "bears testimony to the moral perversity of the human race. Words like this 'bear on them the slime of the serpent's trail'."<sup>228</sup>

*Maruttuvan*, *Maruttuvacci*: The words *maruttuvan* (மருத்துவன்) and *maruttuvacci* (மருத்துவச்சி) are obviously derived from *marundu* (மருந்து), medicine. A medical practitioner was called *maruttuvan* or *maruttuvacci* according to the sex of the person. An old Tamil poet and critic was known among his contemporaries as *Maruttuvan*

225. சூழ்வார் கண்ணாக ஒழுகலாம் மன்னவன்  
சூழ்வாரைச் சூழ்ந்து கொளல்—திருக்குறள், 445.

226. Tamil Lexicon.

227. According to the Tamil Lexicon, *pūccāṇḍi* is composed of *pūcci* and *āṇḍi* (*Pūccāṇḍi*—An imaginary being invoked to frighten children; bugbear; hobgoblin).

228. Trench—The Study of words, p. 95.

*Tāmōdaran* as he was a doctor as well as a scholar. But now *maruttuvan* has deteriorated so much that even the most enthusiastic exponent of the indigenous system of medicine will be ashamed to be called a *maruttuvan*.<sup>229</sup> The word *maruttuvacci* has similarly suffered a restriction and degradation. It signifies in popular parlance a mid-wife. •

*Ūḷiyam*: *Ūḷiyam* (ஊழியம்) connected with *ūḷ* (ஊழ்), destiny—probably signifies customary or hereditary service,—i.e. service which a person is called upon to render not for wages or remuneration, but in pursuance of immemorial custom or ancestral obligations. Such a service will naturally be perfunctory and unsatisfactory. Hence *ūḷiyam* in popular language denotes worthless service. It is a matter of common knowledge that *sarkkār ūḷiyam* (சர்க்கார் ஊழியம்)—perhaps the customary mamul service rendered gratis to the government—connotes inefficient service. The etymological sense of *ūḷiyam* is probably indicated in the term *podu-jāṇa-ūḷiyāṇ* (பொது ஜன ஊழியன்) applied to a person who devotes himself to the service of humanity without any consideration of reward or recompense.

*Cēri*: The original sense of *cēri* (சேரி) derived from the root *cēr* (சேர), to collect, is a collection of huts or houses. The termination *cēri* in certain place-names serves to indicate the nature of the original habitation. *Puduccēri* means a new hamlet; *Vaḍacēri* is northern hamlet; *Talai-c-cēri* is principal hamlet; *Ādi-c-cēri* is degraded hamlet.<sup>230</sup> In some cases *cēris* have been named after the clans or communities which originally founded them. For instance, *Kārsēri* denotes the hamlet of *Kārāḷar*, in the Tinnevely District. Similarly the habitation of the *Paḷḷas* is known as *Paṭcēri* (பட்சேரி) which has become *Paccēri* (பச்சேரி) by the phonetic law of assimilation. The hamlet of the *Paṛayas* was called *Pāṛaiccēri* (பாறச்சேரி).<sup>231</sup> In course of time *cēri* was confined to the hamlets inhabited by the so-called “untouchables”, particularly the *Paḷḷas* and the *Paṛiahs*. Hence in modern usage *cēri* denotes the habitation of these classes situated at a respectable distance from the village or town.

229. It seems that a community in South India has assumed the name *maruttuva kulam* in recent times.

230. *Ādi-c-cēri-yāl* corrupted into *aḍiccariyāl* denotes the prostitute in the colloquial dialect of the southern districts of the Tamil country.

231. *Peruṅgadai* speaks of Several *cēris*:—*yavaṇa-c-cēri*; *tamiḷa-c-cēri*; *antaṇar cēri*; *amaiccar cēri*, etc. Ref. *Peruṅgadai*, III, 4, (7, 11, 12, 13).

*Nāṛṛam*: The original sense of the word *nāṛṛam* (நாற்றம்) is sweet smell. The abstract noun *naṛumai* (நறுமை) derived from the root *nāru* (நாறு) signified good smell.<sup>282</sup> *Naṛu* (நறு) was used in old Tamil in connection with words which signified sweet smelling things. The expressions, *naṛu malar* (நறு மலர்), *naṛu ney* (நறு நெய்) etc.,<sup>283</sup> are found in ancient poetry. The first stage of the degeneration of this word is marked by the expansion of its scope, so as to make it convey the general sense of smell. Thus *nāṛṛam* came to be used also in connection with objects emitting foul odour, such as putrified meat, carcass, etc., e.g., *pulāl nāṛṛam* (புலால் நாற்றம்), *piṇa nāṛṛam* (பிண நாற்றம்).<sup>284</sup> The final stage of degradation was reached when the term came to denote definitely bad odour, in the colloquial dialect. It is significant that *nāṛal* (நாறல்) is now used only with reference to things emitting bad smell. *Nāṛal ney* (நாறல் நெய்), corrupted into *nāṛaney* is distinguished from *nalla ney* (நல்ல நெய்) — good ghee.

### ELEVATION

*Piḷḷai*: In the earliest usage *piḷḷai* (பிள்ளை) signified the tender stage of plants, and the young of animals, birds and crawling creatures.<sup>285</sup> The infant cocoanut palm is commonly called *teṇṇam piḷḷai* (தென்னம் பிள்ளை). The parrot, the squirrel and the mongoose are fondly called *kiri-piḷḷai* (கிளிப்பிள்ளை), *aṇiṇṇi piḷḷai* (அணிற் பிள்ளை) and *kīṇ-piḷḷai* (கீரிப்பிள்ளை). In the ancient literary usage the offspring of human beings were signified by the terms *mahavu* (மகவு) and *kulavi* (குழவி).<sup>286</sup> Gradually, *piḷḷai* which had become a term of endearment was applied to the human offspring, and since it was neuter, the sex denoting terms *āṇ* (ஆண்) and *peṇ* (பெண்) were prefixed to it when necessary. Thus *āṇ-piḷḷai* and *peṇ-piḷḷai* were used with reference to boys and girls. The expressions *āṇ-piḷḷai-piḷḷai* (ஆண்பிள்ளைப் பிள்ளை) and *peṇ-piḷḷai-piḷḷai* (பெண்பிள்ளைப் பிள்ளை) in which *piḷḷai* is reduplicated are absurd creations of popular usage. There is a tendency in the colloquial dialect to restrict the term *piḷḷai* to the boy, The question *piḷḷaiyā* (பிள்ளையா), *peṇṇā* (பெண்ணா)

232. Tamil Lexicon.

233. நறுமலர்க் கோதை-சிலப். மனையறம். 62. பெர்னின்சோதி  
போதின் இன் நாற்றம்-கம்ப. மிதிலைக்காட்சி.

234. புன்புலால் நாற்றம் புறம்பொதிந்து மூடினும்  
சென்று தைக்கும் சேயார் முகத்து-நீதிநெறி. 95.

235. தொல். பொருள். 556, 559, 560, 566.

236. தொல். பொருள். 556, 578, மடியகத்திட்டாள் மகவை-சிலப், கண. 22.

asked with reference to a child newly ushered into existence, is indicative of the popular restriction of the word *piḷḷai* (பிள்ளை) with the grandson and *peṇ* (பெண்) with the grand-daughter is also illustrative of the growing elevation and restriction of the former. The grand son is *pēra--p-piḷḷai* (பேரப்பிள்ளை) and the grand-daughter is *pētti-p-peṇ* (பேத்திப் பெண்). The elevation of *piḷḷai* may also be understood by its association with persons entitled to respect. The bridegroom is known as *māppiḷḷai* (மாப்பிள்ளை) or *maṇavāḷa-p-piḷḷai* (மணவாளப்பிள்ளை). The respectable *Veḷḷāḷas*, the agriculturists *par excellence* are honoured by the title *piḷḷai* affixed to their names.

*Pāppu*: Like *piḷḷai*, *pārppu* (பார்ப்பு) was originally used in connection with the young of birds and crawling creatures.<sup>237</sup> *Pārppu* (பார்ப்பு) became *pāppu* (பாப்பு) by the elimination of the medial liquid mute. The elevation and restriction of this word may be understood from its application to young girls. *Pāppu* (பாப்பு) is the pet name for girl. It is well known that Bhārati's *Pāppā-p-pāṭṭu* (பாப்பாப் பாட்டு) is addressed to the girl of tender age.<sup>238</sup>

*Iraval*: The three words *iravu*, *irattal* and *iraval* (இரவு, இரத்தல், இரவல்) denote beggary. These terms are derived from the common root *ira* (இர)—to beg, by the addition of different suffixes of the verbal noun. The expression, *iraval-mākkaḷ* (இரவல் மாக்கள்) denotes beggars.<sup>239</sup> *Iravalan* (இரவலன்)—beggar, is formed by attaching the masculine singular suffix *an* (அன்) to the verbal noun *iraval* (இரவல்).<sup>240</sup> But in modern usage *iraval* denotes not begging but borrowing. A thing got from a person for temporary use is known as *iraval-cāmān* (இரவல் சாமான்). This deviation from the literal sense which has resulted in the elevation of the term is perhaps due to the service condemnation of beggary as a demoralising and debasing act by the national poets whose words were cherished by the ancient community.

*Nanri*: An act of goodness or kindness is denoted by the terms *namam*, (நலம்), *nammai* (நன்மை), *namru* (நன்று) and *namri* (நன்றி)

237. தொல். பொருள். 559, 560, 569 (பார்ப்புடை மந்தி, குறுங். 278, என வருதலுமுண்டு).

238. ஓடிவினையாடு பாப்பா-பாரதி பாடல், பாப்பாப்பாட்டு.

239. புறம். 333, 10.

240. புறம். 162, 1.

derived from the common root *nal* (நல்).<sup>241</sup> An act of kindness done in the hour of need (காலத்தினுற் செய்த நன்றி) outweighs the whole world, says the poet.<sup>242</sup> "It is improper and ignoble to forget an act of kindness done by another," says Tiruvalluvar.<sup>243</sup> This idea is probably responsible for importing into the word *nāṇṇi* (நன்றி) the sense of gratitude. While *nalam*, *naṇmai* and *naṇru* retain their original meaning of goodness, *naṇṇi* has, in modern usage, acquired the sense of gratitude. *Naṇṇi kūṛal* (நன்றி கூறல்) is now commonly used in the sense of passing a vote of thanks. This transference of sense perhaps bears testimony to the recognition of the principle that one good turn deserves another. "It is a matter of comment by Europeans," says Tagore "that we use no word like thanks in our own language for expressing gratitude, and they jump to the conclusion that our character must be free from that troublesome feeling."<sup>244</sup> The change that has been effected in the meaning of the word *naṇṇi* (நன்றி), a change which shows that gratitude is in the grain of our being, may be regarded as a sufficient refutation of the charge.

The observations of Trench regarding the word 'obligation' may be considered in this connection. "In 'oblige' and 'obligation' says Trench, as when we speak of being obliged or having received an obligation, a moral truth is asserted,—namely, that having received a benefit or a favour at the hands of another we are thereby morally bound to show ourselves grateful for the same. We cannot be ungrateful without denying not merely a moral truth, but one incorporated in the very language which we employ."<sup>245</sup>

*Kaṭippu: Kaṭittal* (களித்தல்) is obviously derived from *kaṭi* (கள்). A person addicted to drink is called *kaṭi* (களி) in old poetry.<sup>246</sup> The author of *Nannul* has placed *kaṭi* (களி) first in the list of persons

241. ஒன்று நன்றுள்ளக் கெடும், திருக்குறள், 109. நன்று-நன்மை.

242. திருக்குறள், 102. நன்றி-நன்மை, உபகாரம்.

243. நன்றி மறப்பது நன்றன்று (திருக்குறள், 108); எந்நன்றி கொன்றார்க்கு முயவுண்டாம் உய்வினை செய்தநன்றி கொன்ற மகற்கு—திருக்குறள், 110.

244. The Indian ideal of marriage—Tagore.

245. Trench—The Study of words—pp. 93, 94.

246. களித்தறியேன் என்பது கைவிடுக—(யான் கள்ளுண்டறியேன் என்று கூறுதலையொழிக—பரி. உரை)—திருக்குறள், 928. கள்ளுண்ணப் போழ்திற் களித்தானைக் காணுங்கால்—திருக்குறள், 930.



unqualified to receive instruction.<sup>247</sup> Since the person under the influence of intoxicating liquor makes merry, the words *kaḷippu* (களிப்பு) and *kaḷittal* (களித்தல்) came to signify merriment or happiness. In modern language these terms are used in the sense of happiness or ecstasy without any reference to the state of intoxication.<sup>247a</sup>

## VARIATION

*Virundu*: *Virundu*, (விருந்து) has wandered away from its original moorings. Its primitive sense, according to *Parimēlalahar* (பரிமேலழகர்) is newness, and *virundinār* (விருந்தினர்), therefore, signified literally new comers or strangers.<sup>248</sup> According to the unwritten moral law which prevailed in the ancient Tamil society, it was the duty and the privilege of the householder to entertain deserving strangers who called at his door for succour or sustenance. "The offering of hospitality," says Tagore, "is incumbent on the house-holder for his own sake. Each of the domestic ceremonies, from the birth celebration to the funeral is but an expression of the debt which each member owes to his community. From this it becomes evident that our society is not like a stream on which its members float in comparative freedom but like the earth in whose depths their root-system is held secure."<sup>249</sup> Thus *virundu* originally signified the hospitality offered to way-farers, mendicants and ascetics. But it connotes in modern usage a sumptuous feast given to friends or relations.<sup>250</sup>

*Paradēsi*: The charitable disposition of the Tamils is evidenced by the assumption of the name *paradēsi* by the modern beggars. It has always been considered a meritorious act to feed and clothe the poor pilgrims who tour the country from one end to the other offering prayers at the holy shrines and washing the sins of their soul in the

247. நன்னூல், பொதுப்பாயிரம், 39.

247a. மலையாளத்தில் களி என்னும் சொல் வினையாட்டு என்னும் பொருளில் வழங்குகின்றது.

248. விருந்தென்பது புதுமை; அ; திண்டாரு பெயராய்ப் புதியராய் வந்தார் மேலின்றது (திருக்குறள், 43. பரிமேலழகர் உரை).

249. The Indian ideal of marriage—Tagore.

250. Dr. Pope says that "virundu (விருந்து) has now degenerated into the feeling of promiscuous multitudes in various charitable foundations (Pope's Kural, 211). It is doubtful if virundu is used in this sense in the Tamil country.

sacred waters. Such a person is a *paradēsi*—literally a person of another country or a foreigner. The hospitality which these deserving pilgrims enjoyed at the hands of the charitable house-holder, has induced all beggars including those of our own country, to style themselves *paradēsi* and exploit the religious sentiment.

*Ceydi*: *Ceydi* (செய்தி), and *ceyhāi* (செய்கை) are derived from the common root *cey* (செய்), and used as synonyms in the old language. A good turn done to a person is denoted by the term *ceydi* (செய்தி) in an ancient poem.<sup>251</sup> However it has now deviated considerably from its original import and is commonly used in the sense of tidings or news. The common query, '*enna ceydi*' (என்ன செய்தி), simply means 'What news?'

*Kēḷvi*: The verbal noun *kēḷvi* (கேள்வி) is derived from the root *kēḷ* (கேள்)—to hear or listen. Hence the literal sense of *kēḷvi* is listening or hearing.<sup>252</sup> Listening to the words of the learned was a recognised mode of acquiring knowledge in the ancient system of education. Instruction received through the ear was cherished as an invaluable treasure. The most precious of treasures according to Tiru vaḷḷuvar is the treasure of the ear.<sup>253</sup> The verbal noun *kēḷḷal* (கேட்டல்), is derived from the same root and conveys the same sense. 'It is better to listen than to learn' (கற்றலிற் கேட்டலே நன்று)<sup>254</sup> is an aphorism in which *kēḷḷal* is used in the sense of listening. In the modern language, however, words derived from the root *kēḷ* convey the idea of query.<sup>255</sup> Questions set for an examination are commonly known as *kēḷvi*. It is perhaps possible to understand the cause of this transference of sense. The listener of old was not always a passive recipient of instruction. He asked questions with a view to clearing his doubts and difficulties or obtaining further elucidation. There is evidence to show that such questions received the most earnest attention of the ancient preceptors who were anxious to impart exact know

251. செய்தி கொன்றூர்க் குய்தியில்—புறம். 34.

252. கேள்வி—கேட்கப்படுதூற் பொருள்களைக் கற்றறிந்தார் கூறக்கேட்டல், (திருக்குறள், அதி. 42, முகவுரை)

253. செல்வத்துட் செல்வம் செவிச்செல்வம் அச்செல்வம்  
செல்வத்து ளெல்லாம் தலை—திருக்குறள், 411.

254. பழமொழி நானூறு, 5.

255. இருப்பதோ, இறப்பதோ ஈதாம்கேள்வி (அமலாதித்யன், அங். 3, கா. 1)  
is the translation of 'To be or not to be—That is the question'. (Hamlet).

ledge to their pupils. Thus a listener became a questioner and hence *kēṭṭi* which literally signified listening came to denote questioning.

*Cāraṇar*: In the old usage *cāraṇar* (சாரணர்) signifies messengers or spies. In the Jaina and Buddhist literature *cāraṇar* denotes a class of highly evolved souls endowed with supernatural powers.<sup>256</sup> In the modern speech, however, it denotes the scouts. The scout movement is commonly known as *cāraṇar-iyakkam* (சாரணர் இயக்கம்). Perhaps the authority of the person who first employed the old word in the new sense and its adoption by others who for want of a more suitable term gradually acquiesced in it, have secured general recognition and acceptance for this deviation.

*Vāsal*: The entrance to a house was originally denoted by the compound *il-vāy* (இல்வாய்). *il*-house; *vāy*-entrance or passage. *Il-vāy* (இல்வாய்) became *vāyil* (வாயில்) by the peculiar process of inversion recognised by Tamil literary usage.<sup>257</sup> Thus *vāyil* came to denote entrance or doorway. *Vāyil* has been corrupted into *vāsal* (வாசல்) in the colloquial dialect. (*Vāyil* > *Vāyal* > *Vāsal*). The eastern entrance is denoted by the expression *kuṇa-vāyil* (குணவாயில்). *Kuḍavāyil* (குடவாயில்) corrupted in to *kuḍavāsal* (குடவாசல்) signifies the western entrance. The stepping stone in the door-way is known as *vāsar-pāḍi* (வாசற்படி). If a house consists of several apartments and consequently several doorways, the first doorway is called *talai-vāsal* (தலைவாசல்), the intermediate door way *iḍai-vāsal* (இடைவாசல்) and the postern doorway *puṛa-vāsal* (புறவாசல்). In modern usage, however, the term *vāsal* is used in a slightly varied sense. The courtyard in front of a house is commonly called *vāsal* in the colloquial speech, and the backyard is known as *puṛa-vāsal*. It is worthy of note that in the old usage the courtyard was denoted by the compound word *ilmun* (இல்முன்) which by inversion became *munṇil* (முன்றில்).<sup>258</sup> In the modern language it is changed into *murram* (முற்றம்). *Vāsal* and *murram* which originally signified two distinct places are now employed as synonyms in several parts of the Tamil country.<sup>259</sup>

*Maṇai*: The word *maṇai* (மனை) derived from the root *maṇ* (மண்)—earth—takes us back to the primitive times when a low earthen dais

256. சாரணர் வாய்மொழிகேட்டு—சிலப். நாடுகாண். 192.

257. நன்னூல், 267, இலக்கணப்போலி.

258. In *munṇil*, *ṇ* is said to be intrusive.

259. In Tinnevely, *muṇ-vāsal* and *puṛa-vāsal* are common'y used in the sense of courtyard and backyard respectively.]

was improvised by men for sitting on at ease. As civilisation advanced, the wooden dais came into existence. But the old word *maṇai* was adopted as the name of the wooden seat since the etymological sense of it had been effectively obliterated by time. Then the wooden instrument devised for ginning cotton—an instrument which was fitted with a low wooden seat for the operator, came to be called *maṇai*. The wooden piece on which a cutting instrument is mounted is known as *arivāḍi-maṇai* அரிவாள்மணை corrupted into *aruvāmaṇi* (அருவாமணை) in the common speech.

*Karuppu-k-kaṭṭi*: Cane-sugar is signified by the compound *karuppu-k-kaṭṭi* (கருப்புக்கட்டி). *Karuppu-k-kaṭṭi* is composed of *karumbu* (கரும்பு) and *kaṭṭi* (கட்டி).<sup>260</sup> and obviously means cane-sugar. But in the modern colloquial dialect *karuppu-k-kaṭṭi* does not mean cane-sugar but palmyra jaggery. It is possible that the mistaken notion that *karuppu* in the compound *karuppu-k-kaṭṭi* signified the colour of the substance, was responsible for this transference. Now *vellam* (வெல்லம்) is used with reference to cane-sugar and *karuppuk-kaṭṭi* and its corruption *karuppaṭṭi* denote palmyra jaggery.

The conservative instinct of the community is responsible for the existence of several anomalies in the vocabulary of a language. The incompatibility between the words and the objects denoted by them is evidently due to the inability of the words to adjust themselves to the changes effected by the advance of civilization. A lease-deed is still called *aḍai-y-ōlai* (அடையோலை) though the document evidencing the lease is no longer a cadjan leaf.

A grain measure is called *marakkāl* (மரக்கால்) although it has long ceased to be a wooden thing. The circular iron plate on which rice-cake is baked continues to bear the name *tōsai-k-kal* (தோசைக்கல்), cake-stone. The waist-cord though made of gold or silver goes by the humble name *arai-nāṇ* (அரைநாண்), waist-thread.

Variations or displacements of meaning are sometimes effected by a loose application of words. The common people to whom language is merely a practical medium of expression, do not care to acquaint themselves with the accurate significations of words or even if they are aware, do not care to use words in their exact sense. For the sake of

260. கட்டியி னரிசியும் புழுக்கும் காணமும்—சிந்தாமணி, 1938.

கட்டி—கருப்புக்கட்டி, நச்சினூர்க்கினியர் உரை.

effect, words of serious import are pressed into service and made to signify trifles. The word *amar-k-kaḷam* (அமார்க்களம்) for instance, is a victim of this popular tendency. It literally denotes the battle field (*amar*-battle; *kaḷam*-field), and raises in the mind of an accurate scholar the image of a blood-stained field covered with mangled limbs of men and beasts and filled with the din of clashing arms and cries of dying soldiers. But in the colloquial dialect the word is employed to signify things that are devoid of these terrific associations. The confusion created by children in the house by throwing things pellmell, the excitement caused at a meeting by interruptions or interrogations and occurrences like these, are now denoted by the term.

The expression *mallāḍal* (மல்லாடல்) literally signifies wrestling. *Mallaṇ* (மல்லன்) is a wrestler or pugilist. The dance of the Lord Krishna after killing *Bāṇa* in a wrestle, is denoted by the technical expression *mallāḍal*.<sup>261</sup> In popular usage, however, the term is used with reference to the less serious and perhaps less harmful practice of vandyng words. The proverb “கல்லாடம் படித்தவனோடு மல்லாடாதே”<sup>262</sup> is current in cultured society. The idea contained in the saying is that *kallāḍam* is such a classical treatise that one who has closely studied it, will easily carry the palm in any literary controversy.

*Maṇṇāḍal* (மன்றாடல்) is another term that has undergone a restriction and variation in sense. *Maṇṇu* (மன்று) or *maṇṇam* (மன்றம்) is used in ancient poetry in the sense of *Sabha*.<sup>263</sup> Cilappadhāram describes the five *maṇṇams* situated at *Puhār*, the principal sea-port of the early chōlas.<sup>264</sup> In course of time, however, the term was restricted to the court of justice commonly known as *nīdi-maṇṇam* (நீதி மன்றம்). Hence *maṇṇāḍal* came to denote pleading in a court of justice. *Maṇṇāḍi* is used in the *Periyapurāṇam* in the sense of ‘litigant’.<sup>265</sup> In modern usage *maṇṇāḍal* simply means making a fervant and persistent appeal or request, and has no reference to the tribunal of justice.

261. அவுணற் கடந்த மல்லி னுடலும்—சிலப், கடலாடு, 48, 49.

262. தமிழ் இலக்கிய வரலாறு (கா. சுப்பிரமணிய பிள்ளை), 329.

263. மன்றம்—சபை—பிங்கல நிகண்டு ; பாவைமன்றம்—சிலப், இந்திர, 138.

264. ஐவகை மன்றத் தமைதியுங் காண்குதும்—சிலப், கடலாடு, 17. ஐவகை மன்றத்தின் அமைதியை இந்திரவிழுவூரெடுத்த காதையிற்காண்க.

265. பழைய மன்றாடி போலும் இவன்—பெரியபுராணம், தடுத்தாட், 48.

A storm in a tea-cup goes by the name of *amaḷi* (அமளி) in the popular parlance. *Amaḷi* is a corruption of *amalai* (அமலை);<sup>266</sup> (*amalai* > *amali* > *amaḷi*). In primitive warfare the soldiers used to gather round the fallen leader of the foemen on the battle-field and sing and dance in jollity. The tipsy dance of the victorious warriors was naturally tumultuous. Hence *amaḷi* denotes an up-roar or tumult.

The dance known as *kuravai* (குரவை) was a favourite amusement in ancient times.<sup>267</sup> The *kuravai* dance of the *Kurava* and the Shepherd girls are vividly described in *Cilappadihāram*.<sup>268</sup> *Kuravai* as a dance is unknown at present, but the word *kulavai*, a corruption of *kuravai*, exists in the plain vocabulary of the peasantry to remind us of the glories of the past. However, *kulavai* is far too attenuated and altered to be called even the ghost of its former self. The rattling sound *ulūlu* made by women standing together, on auspicious occasions, such as *Poṅgal* and marriage, is now signified by the term *kulavai*.<sup>269</sup>

*Naḍam* (நடம்) and *naḍai* (நடை) are distinct words drawn from different sources. *Naḍam* signifies dance and *naḍai* denotes walk. The popular confusion between *naḍam*,<sup>270</sup> a corruption of the Sanskrit *naṣa* and *naḍai* derived from the Tamil root *naḍa* has led to the application of the term *naḍamāḍal* (நடமாடல்)<sup>271</sup> to walking, and *naḍamāḍṭam* (நடமாட்டம்) to the state of walking. Thus the sentence *naḍa māḍa muḍiyētu* (நடமாடமுடியாது) does not signify incapacity to dance but inability to walk.

266. தொல். பொருள். 72. உரை.

267. குரவையாவது எழுவரேனும் ஒன்பதின்மரேனும் கைகோத்தாடுங் கூத்து (சிலப். ஆய்ச்சியர்குரவை, அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் உரை).

268. குன்றக்குரவை—சிலப், 24. ஆய்ச்சியர் குரவை—சிலப், 17.

269. குலவை > குரவை. *Kulavai*—Chorus of shrill sounds made by women by wagging the tongue, uttered on festive occasions—Tamil Lexicon.

270. வானரங்கில் நடம்புரிவாள் இரவி—கம்ப. மிதிலைக்காட்சி. 153.

271. வலம்வந்த மடவார்கள் நடமாட முழுவதிர—தேவாரம், திருஞான சம்பந்தர், திருவையாற்றுப் பதிகம்.

### SECTION III

## *Discrimination of Synonyms*

Most of the synonyms commonly so called are really expressive of different aspects or qualities of the person or object denoted by them. The terms used with reference to the king, for instance, connote different aspects of royalty. The conception of the ancient Tamils that Royalty was an institution indispensable for the welfare of society is reflected in the word *maṇṇaṇ* (மன்னன்) which signifies the king. *Maṇṇaṇ* is derived from the root *maṇ* (மண்) which denotes stability<sup>272</sup>. Monarchic institution was the supreme symbol of stability and continuity in the estimation of the ancient Tamil community.

The term *kāvalaṇ* (காவலன்) obviously denotes the person who protects his subjects from internal and external enemies. The Protector of Dharma, according to a great religious poet, is styled *kāvalaṇ*.<sup>273</sup>

*Vēndaṇ* (வேந்தன்) is derived from a root which contains the sense of heat or fire. *Veyil*, *vēhu* and *vemmai* (வெயில், வேகு, வெம்மை) are derived from the same root. The king has to raise the rod with a severe brow for eradicating evil. It is significant that Tiruvaḷḷuvar employs the term *vēndu* when he refers to the king's duty of ruthlessly suppressing crimes and misdeeds in his country.<sup>274</sup>

*Korṟavaṇ* (கொற்றவன்) is derived from the ultimate root *kol* (கொல்). Military prowess was an essential requisite for the king in

272. மன்னுயிர்ப் பன்மையும் கூற்றத் தொருமையும்—(புறம். 19-3). மன்னுயிர் = நிலைபெற்ற உயிர் (உரை); மன்னுவுலகத்து மன்னுதல் குறித்தோர், புறம். 165, 1.

273. மாநிலங் காவல னுவான்...அறங்காப் பானல் லனே—பெரியபுராணம், மனுரீதிகண்ட, 36.

274. கொலையிற் கொடியாரை வேந்து ஒறுத்தல்—திருக்குறள் 550.

primitive society. The preservation of the autonomy of the state and the perpetuation of royal power and prestige depended to a very large extent on the heroism of the king. The sovereign who was accorded a pre-eminent place in times of peace was expected to lead the army and bear the brunt of battle in times of war.

Similarly, the words which denote wealth appear at first sight to be simple synonyms but will be found on closer examination to express different aspects or concepts of wealth. The word *celvam* (செல்வம்), wealth, contains the idea of currency. A token coin or a coin that cannot be put in circulation is known as *cellā-k-kāsu* (செல்லாக்காசு) in popular parlance. The literal sense of the term *celvam* is employed by the Tamil bards to indicate the evanescence of wealth.

The idea that wealth is produced and increased by human endeavour finds expression in the word *paṇam* (பணம்), which is derived from the root *paṇ* (பண்)—to make.<sup>275</sup> Industry is the mother of prosperity (முயற்சி திருவினை ஆக்கும்) says the Tamil poet.<sup>275a</sup> The etymological sense of *paṇam* stresses the view that man is the maker of his own fortune and demolishes the theory that wealth and poverty are regulated by destiny.

The advocates of the doctrine of renunciation deprecated in strong terms the desire for wealth and condemned it as filthy lucre. Wealth was considered to be an obstacle in the way of the soul marching towards its destined goal of salvation. The desire for wealth was the 'snare of Satan' to keep the soul for ever in bondage. The poet has said "Whatsoever thing a man hath renounced, from the grief arising from that, hath he liberated himself." The doctrine which exhorted the mortals to lift their thoughts from the world of ignoble strife to the serene world of eternal bliss, was responsible for wealth being called *verukkai* (வெறுக்கை) — the cursed or detested thing.<sup>276</sup>

*Māḍu* (மாடு) is another term for wealth. "Among pastoral peoples wealth naturally consists in flocks and herds and wealth is counted by so many head of cattle. Thus the cattle became a kind of

275. Cf. Sanskrit, *paṇa*.

275a திருக்குறள், 616.

276. அந்தோ, சீ, சீ, இப்பொருளைச் செம்மையுடையோர் வேண்டுமெனச் சிந்தித் திருவரோ மறந்தும்—குசேலோபாக்கியானம், குசேலர் வைகுந்தம், 106.



legal tender. This happened among the Indo-Europeans, and Indo-European languages have preserved many traces of this primitive state in which, cattle, a man's only wealth were used as money."<sup>277</sup> This, says Vendreys, is an instance of social factors influencing the evolution of vocabulary.

A careful consideration of the synonyms of the verb *col* (சொல்) — speak, will enable us to discover the distinctions existing between them.

*Urai* (உரை) — comment.

*Arai* (அரை) — assert.

*Parai* (பரை) — proclaim.

*Pannu* (பன்னு) — repeat.

*Kūru* (கூறு) — speak in a logical or analytical manner.

*Kuyirru* (கூயிற்று) — speak in a melodious voice.

*Viḷambu* (விளம்பு) — enlighten.

*Iyambu* (இயம்பு) — speak in a musical tone.

*Cārru* (சாற்று) — Advocate.

*Mīlarru* (மீழற்று) — speak in a pleasing manner.

It is probable that the three words *ī*, *tā* and *koḍu* (ஈ, தா, கொடு) were originally synonyms, but usage gradually established a semantic distinction between them. '*ī*' (ஈ) is used when a person begs for a thing; *tā* (தா) is used when he calls for a thing; and *koḍu* (கொடு) is used when he demands a thing.<sup>278</sup> Thus the distinction is based upon the power and position of the person who addresses the word. The three words are assigned to the three possible positions which a man can occupy in his relations with his fellowmen, viz., inferiority, equality and superiority.

The nouns derived from these verbal roots reflect these shades of thought. *Ihai* (ஈகை) derived from the root *ī* (ஈ) is defined as 'the gift of a thing to the destitute'.<sup>279</sup> *Taruhai* (தருகை) derived from

277. Vendreys, Language, p. 211.

278. ஈயென்கிளவி இழிந்தோன் கூற்றே—தொல். சொல். 445.

தாவென் கிளவி யொப்போன் கூற்றே—தொல். சொல். 446.

கொடுவென் கிளவி யுயர்ந்தோன் கூற்றே—தொல். சொல். 447.

279. வறியார்க்க் கொன்றி வதே ஈகை—திருக்குறள், 221.

*tā* (தா) is used in connection with transactions in which one thing is exchanged for another.<sup>280</sup> The expression *varam-tarudal* (வரம் தருதல்) signifies the boon granted to a person in return for the penance performed by him. *Kodai* (கொடை) formed from the root *koḍu* (கொடு) signifies a thing given to a person in power or authority. The offering made to the village deities with a view to propitiating them is aptly termed *kodai* for the deity is deemed to have the power of demanding it.<sup>281</sup>

*Anbu* (அன்பு) and *aruḷ* (அருள்) denote tenderness. Their exact signification however has been settled by literary usage. The phrase 'அருளுள்ளும் அன்பின் குழவி' 'suggested the distinction in a metaphorical way.<sup>282</sup> The classical commentator of the *Kuraḷ* in which the phrase occurs, has explained the distinction between them which was perhaps not so clearly perceived till then. According to him the tenderness which a person feels for his relations is signified by the term *anbu* and the tenderness felt for the animate world beyond the circle of relations is denoted by the term *aruḷ*.<sup>283</sup> Thus *aruḷ* is the quality of mercy which by its gentle touch makes the whole world kin.

The distinction between *valakkam* (வழக்கம்) and *palakkam* (பழக்கம்)<sup>284</sup> is identical with the distinction between custom and usage in law. Custom carries with it an idea of great antiquity. In law one of the essentials of a valid custom is that it must uniformly have existed from time immemorial. No such antiquity is necessary to prove a usage. *Palakkam* may therefore be defined as a uniform practice among a people or class with respect to certain matters or things.

280. விலைப்பொருட்டால் ஊன்தருவார் இல்—திருக்குறள், 256.

நாலுங்கலந்துனக்கு நான்தருவேன்...நீயெனக்குச் சங்கத்தமிழ் மூன்றும் தா—நல்வழி, காப்பு.

281. It is significant that the offerings made to the ferocious deities alone are known as *koḍai*. The huge quantity of rice and meat with which they are propitiated is called *paḍaiḍippu* (படைப்பு).

282. தொடர்பு பற்றுதே வருத்தமுற்றூர் மேற்செல்வதாய் அருள், தொடர் பற்றிச்செல்லும் அன்புமுதிர்ந்துழி யுளதாவதாகலின் அதனை அன்பின் குழவியென்றார். (திருக்குறள், 757, பரிமேலழகர் உரை.)

283. அருளுடைமை—அ. தாவது தொடர்பு பற்றுது இயல்பாக எல்லாவுயிர் கண் மேலும் செல்வதாகிய கருணை. இவ்வறத்திற்கு அன்புடைமை போல இது துவறத்திற்குச் சிறந்தமையின் முற்கூறப்பட்டது. (திருக்குறள், அதி. 25. தோற்றுவாய்).

284. *Valakkam* and *Palakkam* are also used in the sense of habit and practice respectively.

*Ōsai* and *oli* (ஓசை, ஒலி) have acquired by usage distinct significations. The existence of this distinction has received sufficient recognition in ancient poetry. When the saint addresses the Lord as (ஓசை ஒலியெல்லாம் ஆனாய் நீயே).<sup>285</sup> It is obvious that he attaches distinct sense-values to these two terms. *Ōsai* conveys the sense of noise and *oli* signifies tone. The distinction between noise and tone may be stated in the words of Max Muller: "Noises such as the rustling of leaves, the jarring of doors or the clap of thunder are produced by irregular impules imparted to the air. Tones such as we hear from tunin forks, strings, flute, organ pipes are produced by regular periodical vibrations of elastic air."<sup>286</sup> It is possible that *Ōdai* (ஓதை) is a variation of *ōsai* (ஓசை) as the palatal and dental sounds are interchangeable in Tamil.<sup>287</sup>

The principle of drawing a distinction between synonyms, is adopted in grammatical terminology for the the purpose of denoting differences brought into existence by literary usage, *Viyam* (வியம்) and *ēval* (ஏவல்) are synonyms signifying command.<sup>288</sup> When grammarians were confronted with two forms of command — a command properly so called and a polite command — they distinguished them by the terms *viyaṅṭō!* (வியங்கோள்) and *ēval* (ஏவல்). Thus, the verb in the imperative mood is called *ēval viṇṭai* (ஏவல் வினை) and the verb in the optative mood came to be called *viyaṅṭō!* *viṇai*.<sup>289</sup>

285. தேவாரம் (திருநாவுக்கரசர்), திருவையாற்றுப்பதிகம், 1.

286. Science of Language, Vol. I, p. 94.

287. *ēsaṇam* (ஆசனம்) > *ādaṇam* (ஆதனம்).  
*vayasu* (வயசு) > *vayadu* (வயது).

Duplicated palatals and dalatals :—

*vittu* (வித்து) > *viccu* (விச்சு)

*nittam* (நித்தம்) > *niccam* (நிச்சம்)

*Tittiri* (தித்திரி) > *ciccili* (சிச்சிலி)

It may be that *ōdai* (ஓதை) is the earlier form and *ōsai* (ஓசை) its variant.

288. வியம்-ஏவல்; மடியை வியங்கோள்ளின் மற்றைக்கருமம், முடியாதவாறே முயலும் — பழமொழி நானூறு. 167.

289. தொல். சொல். 222 - 226.

*Pahudi* (பகுதி) and *pādi* (பாதி) were originally synonyms.<sup>290</sup> *Pahudi* has changed into *padi* by the elimination of the medial vowel—consonant and the augmentation of the quantity of the initial vowel by way of compensation. The root of *pahudi* is *pahu* — to split, separate or divide. Hence *pahudi* denotes a part or portion of the whole. In modern usage however *pādi* connotes an equal division or a moiety.

*Sandi* (சந்தி) and *andi* (அந்தி) were originally identical in sense. It is probable that *andi* is a variation of *sandi*, brought about by the elimination of the initial sibilant. A distinction between these synonyms was established in due course. *Andi* was confined to contact of time and *sandi* was generally appropriated to contact of place. The time which marks the contact of day and night is known as *andi* — the twilight.<sup>291</sup> *Sandi* refers ordinarily to a place where different paths meet.<sup>292</sup>

*Eyiru* (எயிறு) in the sense of tooth is now confined to poetry and literary prose. *Iru* (ஈறு) which is probably a corruption of *eyiru* (எயிறு) is commonly used to denote the gums of the teeth.

Distinction between synonyms is sometimes brought about by the elevation or degradation of one of them. The terms *paḍuttal* (படுத்தல்) and *kiḍattal* (கிடத்தல்) were originally synonyms but a distinction has been established owing to the gradual deterioration of the later. *Paḍukkai* (படுக்கை) and *kiḍakkai* (கிடக்கை) formed from the roots, *paḍu* (படு) and *kiḍa* (கிட) denote the act of resting or sleeping. However, the word *kiḍattal* (கிடத்தல்) is now relegated to the vocabulary of the vulgar dialect. *Kiḍai* (கிடை) derived from the root *kiḍa* clearly indicates the degree of its degradation. Although it retains its primary sense in poetry; common usage has confined it to the sheep-fold, *āṭṭu-k-kiḍai* (ஆட்டுக்கிடை).

The sense of eating is denoted by the terms, *uṇ* (உண்) and *tiṇ* (திண்). The nouns formed from these verbal roots are *ūṇ* (ஊண்) and *tiṇi* (தினி), *uṇavu* (உணவு), *ūṇ* (ஊண்) and *uṇḍi* (உண்டி) are synonyms.

290. பகுத்துண்டு பல்லுயிர் ஓம்புதல் — திருக்குறள், 322.

பாத்தூண் மரீஇயவளை—திருக்குறள், 227.

291. அந்திக்கடை — Evening bazaar.

292. சதுக்கமுஞ் சந்தியும் புதுப்பூங்கடம்பு—திருமுருகு, 225.

While these words retain their original meaning *tiṇi* is now used mainly with reference to the food of animals.

The Tamil word *avā* (அவா) and the Sanskrit derivative *āsai* (ஆசை) were used originally as synonyms. Annihilation of desire is denoted by the expression *avā-v-aruttal* (அவாவறுத்தல்) in Tirukkuraḷ.<sup>293</sup> In the exhortation *āsai-arumīṇ* (ஆசை அறுமின்)<sup>294</sup> *āsai* is used in the same sense. Sita refers to her husband as *āsaiyṇṇ-kaṇi*, (ஆசையின் கனி) — the delicious fruit of her desire.<sup>295</sup> But in modern usage *āsai* has acquired the meaning of improper or unwholesome desire. The distinction between the two words is clearly indicated in the compounds *pērāsai* (பேராசை) and *pēravā* (பேரவா). Avarice is denoted by the former and intense desire by the latter. It is significant that *āval* (ஆவல்) which is a contraction of *avāval* (அவாவல்)<sup>296</sup> continues to bear the original sense of desire or eagerness. The connections in which *āsai* is used in modern parlance, clearly mark the extent of its degeneration. e.g., *āsai-k-kiḷatti* (ஆசைக் கிழத்தி) — concubine *Āsai-nāyahan* (ஆசை நாயகன்) — illicit lover; *Āsai marundu* (ஆசை மருந்து) — Love potion or philter and so forth.

When words bearing the same sense are drawn from different languages and are current side by side, a distinction is gradually established between them. The Tamil word *eṇṇēi* (எண்ணெய்) and the Sanskrit derivative *tailam* (தெலம்) are synonyms. The Sanskrit word for sesame (எள்) is *tila* and hence the oil extracted from *tila* is known as *taila*. But is hardly *tailam* used to denote the gingili oil in the modern speech. Scented and medicinal oils are generally signified by it.

The sanskrit term *Sthala* corrupted into *talam* (தலம்) is the equivalent of *iḍam* (இடம்) in Tamil. A distinction has gradually come into existence by which the Sanskrit derivative is confined to sacred and holy places while its Tamil equivalent continues to convey the original sense of place.

293. திருக்குறள், அதி. 37.

294. ஆசையறுமின்கள் ஆசையறுமின்கள்  
ஈசனோடாயினும் ஆசையறுமின்கள்—திருமந்திரம். 2615.

295. கம்ப. மாயாசனக. 212.

296. In *avāval* — the elimination of the first *vā* is due to haplogy; the increase in the quantity of the initial vowel is due to compensation.

The Tamil word *Arivu* (அறிவு) and the Samskrit derivative *gnānam* (ஞானம்) are synonyms. *Arivan* (அறிவன்) is used in poetry in the sense of sage; *Arivunūl* (அறிவு நூல்) is book of knowledge. *Gnānam* (ஞானம்) also means knowledge; *Gnānēn-driyam* (ஞானேந்திரியம்) is the collective name for the sense organs. Usage however has restricted *arivu* to knowledge and *gnānam* to wisdom. Thus *arīṇaṇ* (அறிஞன்) denotes a man of knowledge and *gnāṇi* (ஞானி) signifies a sage or wise man.

The Sanskrit derivative *vittai* (வித்தை) and the Tamil word *kalvi* (கல்வி) are synonyms. *Vidyāsālai* (வித்தியாசாலை) derived from the root of the word *vittai* and *kallūri* (கல்லூரி) derived from the root of the word *kalvi* denote the school. Similarly *vittahan* (வித்தகன்) and *kaṭṭavan* (கற்றவன்) signify the learned person. Popular usage however has restricted the term *vittai* to an art or craft involving subtlety or dexterity. The magician is commonly called *vittai-k-kāraṇ* (வித்தைக்காரன்).

Borrowed words are sometimes altered in accordance with the phonetic laws and tendencies of the language in which they are adopted and made the vehicles of different thoughts. The Sanskrit word *Bāṇa* is current in Tamil in a double form viz., *pāṇam* and *vāṇam*. The labial and the labio-dental are interchangeable in Tamil and hence *pāṇam* and *vāṇam* are different from of the same word. The difference in form has led to a difference in sense. In modern usage *pāṇam* retains the sense of arrow but *vāṇam* is used with reference to the rocket. A display of fire works is commonly known as *vāṇa vēḍikkai* (வாண வேடிக்கை).

The Sanskrit term *jala* is employed in two forms in Tamil. *Jalam* (ஜலம்)—the tatsama form—signifies water. But *calam* (சலம்)—the tatbhava form in which the palatal surd has taken the place of the palatal sonant—is used with reference to the pus issuing from festered wounds.<sup>297</sup>

The words formed by attaching different particles serving the same grammatical purpose, to a common root are made the vehicles of allied but distinct thoughts. For instance from the verbal root *vēl* (வேள்) the nouns *vēlv* (வேள்வி) *vēḷkai* (வேட்கை) and *vēḷtai* (வேட்டை) are derived. It is evident that these words have been

formed by attaching different suffixes of the verbal noun to the common root. Though the three words contain the sense of desire, each of them is confined to a particular kind of desire. *Vēlvi* denotes a sacrifice performed with religious zeal. *Vēṭkai* cannates sexual desire. *Vēṭṭai* signifies hunting. *Vēṭṭuvan* (வேட்டுவன்) or *vēḍan* (வேடன்) is the name of the hillman whose main occupation is hunting.

The terms *yākkai* (யாக்கை) and *yāppu* (யாப்பு) are derived from the root *yā* (யா), to bind together. *Yākkai* signifies the body and *yāppu* means verse in literary language. The body has been conceived as a house built of bones and flesh, bound together by nerves and covered with skin.<sup>299</sup> This concept forms the basis of the term *yākkai*. In the composition of verse also a similar process is adopted. Syllables and words are arranged in a particular order, strunk together by rhyme and alliteration and made the vehicle of thought.<sup>300</sup> Hence metrical composition is signified by the term *yāppu*.

The words *curu!* (சுருள்) and *curuṭṭu* (சுருட்டு) are derived obviously from a common root containing the idea of a roll but denote different objects by a variation of termination.<sup>301</sup> A roll of palm leaves is called *olai-c-cura!* (ஓலைச்சுருள்): a roll of betel leaves is known as *verrilai-c-cura!* (வெற்றிலைச் சுருள்) and so forth. Gold or silver coins rolled in a piece of yellow cloth and presented to the newly married couple on auspicious occasions is known as *Curu!* in the Southern districts.<sup>302</sup> *Curuṭṭu* however is definitely restricted to cigar.<sup>303</sup> "It has passed into the English vocabulary in the form cheroot but appropriated specially to cigars truncated at both ends."<sup>304</sup>

The difference between *uruvu* (உருவு) and *urupu* (உருபு) was originally one of form and not of substance. *Uruvu* means form or

298. நரம்பினே டெலும்பு கட்டி நசையினே டிசைவொன் றில்லாக்—குரம்பை வாப்க் குடியிருந்து குலத்தினுல் வாழமாட்டேன். — தேவாரம் (சந்தரர்) திருவாரூர்ப்பதிகம். 5. (பெரிய திருமொழி. 59ம் பாட்டையும் பார்க்க)

299. *Yāppu Ilakkaṇam* is prosody.

300. Cf. இருள் — இருட்டு (*iruḷ-iruṭṭu*) — darkness.

301. *curu!* — Presents with betel given to bride and bridegroom. Loc. — Tamil Lexicon.

302. *Curuṭṭu* (Tamil), *curuṭṭu* (Malayālam), *tcutta* (Telugu), *cutti* (Kanarese). In Telugu and Kanarese the radical letter of the root is eliminated.

303. Hobson — Jobson.

symbol.<sup>304</sup> But *urupu* is appropriated to the post-positional particles expressive of case relations in grammatical terminology.<sup>305</sup> The case sign is called *vēṟṟumai urupu*.

Variations in form caused by the operation of phonotic laws such as metathesis, prothesis and euphonic nunnation have brought about variations in sense.

(1) Metathesis :—

*Visiṟi* (விசிறி) = fan.

*Siviṟi* (சிவிறி) = Syringe.

*Kēppuḷ-am* (கொப்புளம்) = bubble.

*Pokkuḷ-am* (பொக்குளம்) = boil.<sup>306</sup>

*Mukiḷ* (முகிழ்) = bud.

*Kumiḷ* (குமிழ்) = bubble; knob.

(2) Prothesis with or without consonantal changes :—

*Rājā* (Skt) > *Rāsaṇ* > *arasaṇ* = King.

*Rājā* (Skt) > *Rāyaṇ* > *irāyaṇ* = Title of certain castes like Mādhva Brahmins.

*Rakta* (Skt) > *Rattam* > *irattam* = blood.

*Rakta* (Skt) > *Rattam* > *arattam* = a garment.

(3) Euphonic nasalisation :—

*Kūḍu* (கூடு) = nest.

*Kūṇḍu* (கூண்டூ) = covering.<sup>307</sup>

304. உருவுகண் டெள்ளாமை வேண்டும் — திருக்குறள், 667.

305. The case—sign is called *vēṟṟumai urupu* in grammar.

306. Tamil Lexicon.

307. A carriage with a covering overhead is called *kūṇḍu vaṇḍi* and a carriage without a top is commonly known as *moṭṭai vaṇḍi*.



*Aḍu* (அடு) = approach.

*Aṇḍu* (அண்டு) = attach.<sup>308</sup>

*Taḍu* (தடு) = obstruct.

*Taṇḍu* (தண்டு) = collect rents, taxes, etc.<sup>309</sup>

*Dimorphism* due to different degrees of corruption, has served the cause of semantic distinction :—

*Praṣṭhapaḍā* (Skt) — *Puraṣṭāsi* (Ta) = The Sixth Tamil month.

*Proṣṭhapaḍā* (Skt) — *Pūraṣṭādi* (Ta) = The twenty-fifth *nakṣatra*.

*Śrāvaṇa* (Skt) — *Sirāvaṇam* (Ta) = a religious ceremony.

*Śrāvaṇa* (Skt) — *Avāṇi* (Ta) = The fifth Tamil month.

*Lakṣaṇa* (Skt) — *Ilaṭcaṇam* (Ta) = beauty.

*Lakṣaṇa* (Skt) — *Ilakkaṇam* (Ta) = grammar.

Distinction in form between Sanskritic and Prākritic terms employed in Tamil has contributed to semantic discrimination :—

*Sūnya* (Skt) — *Sūṇiyam* (Ta) = Witchcraft.

*Sunna* (Pkt) — *Suṇṇam* (Ta) = Cipher.

*Varṇa* (Skt) — *varuṇam* (Ta) = colour.

*Vaṇṇa* (Pkt) — *vaṇṇam* (Ta) = beauty.

*Ārya* (Skt) — *Āriyan* (Ta) = a man of the Aryan race.

*Ajja* (Pkt) — *Accan* (Ta) = father.

Semantic wear and tear is responsible for the existence of several Pleonasms in the colloquial dialect of Tamil. For instance :

*Cakaḍa-vaṇḍi* (சகட வண்டி), cor, *cakkḍā-vaṇḍi* (சக்கடா வண்டி) — country cart.

308. Usage has established a distinction between *aḍu* and *aṇḍu*. *Aḍutta viḍu* is next house; *Aṇḍai viḍu* is adjoining house.

309. Tamil Lexicon. It is possible that *taṇḍai* (anklet) is the nasalised form of *taḍai* (obstruction).

*Ūdai-vāḍḍai* (ஊதை வாடை), cor, *ūḷai-vāḍḍai* (ஊளை வாடை) — chill wind.

*Kaḍuvan-pūṇai* (கடுவன் பூனை), cor, *Kaḍuvām-pūṇai* (கடுவாம் பூனை) — Big cat.

*Arai-nāṇ-kayiru* (அரை நாண்கயிறு), cor, *Arunākayaru* (அருநாக் கயிறு) — waist cord.

*Cūrā-vaḷi-k-kārru* (சூராவளிக் காற்று), cor, *Cūrā-vaḷi-k-kāttu* (சூராவளிக் காத்து) — whirl-wind.

In each of these compounds, the classical word which has lost its semantic value is followed and supported by its popular equivalent.

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1. அமலாதித்யன், 60
2. இறையனாரகப்பொருள் உரை, 4, 6
3. ஐங்குறு நூறு, 20
4. கம்ப இராமாயணம், 4, 10, 14, 17, 20, 28, 31, 34, 37, 43, 45, 46, 48, 50, 53, 56, 64, 71
5. கருவூர்ப்புராணம், 33
6. கலித்தொகை, 6, 45
7. காஞ்சிப்புராணம், 35
8. குசேலோபாக்கியானம், 66
9. குறிஞ்சிப்பாட்டு, 34
10. குறுந்தொகை, 57
11. சிந்தாமணி, 13, 20, 23, 38, 44, 62
12. சிலப்பதிகாரம், 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 21, 24, 25, 26, 29, 37, 41, 42, 45, 46, 49, 51, 56, 61, 63, 64
13. சூடாமணி நிகண்டு, 8, 13, 20, 32, 35, 52
14. சூளாமணி, 1
15. செந்தமிழ், 3
16. செவ்வந்திப்புராணம், 33
17. சேரன் செங்குட்டுவன் (மு. இராகவையங்கார்), 32
18. தமிழ் இலக்கிய வரலாறு (கா. சுப்பிரமணிய பிள்ளை), 63
19. தாயுமானவர் பாடல், 42, 49
20. திருக்குறள், 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 20, 25, 27, 28, 37, 40, 43, 44, 47, 53, 54, 58, 59, 60, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 74
21. திருக்குறள் (ஜி. யு. போப் அவர்களின் மொழிபெயர்ப்பு), 50, 59
22. திருப்பாவை, 52
23. திருப்புகழ், 52
24. திருமந்திரம், 38, 71
25. திருமாலை, 2
26. திருமுருகாற்றுப்படை, 14, 15, 35, 70

27. திருவள்ளுவ மாலை, 50
28. திருவாசகம், 30, 38
29. திருவாய்மொழி, 19
30. திவாகரம், 13, 39
31. தேவாரம், 3, 31, 32, 45, 64, 69, 73
32. தொல்காப்பியம் (எழுத்து), 47  
     ,, (சொல்), 35, 52, 67, 69  
     ,, (பொருள்), 5, 7, 10, 11, 34, 38, 39, 56, 57, 64
33. நல்வழி, 67
34. நளவெண்பா, 9
35. நன்னூல், 4, 39, 46, 50, 61
36. நால்வர் நான்மணி மாலை, 38
37. நாலடியார், 31, 46
38. நீதிநெறி விளக்கம், 53, 56
39. பட்டினப்பாலை, 20, 22
40. பரிபாடல், 28
41. பழமொழி, 14, 41, 47, 60, 69
42. பாரதி பாடல், 57
43. பிங்கல நிகண்டு, 1, 7, 63
44. புலவர் புராணம், 37
45. புறநானூறு, 15, 45, 49, 52, 57, 60, 65
46. பெரிய திருமொழி, 18, 32, 73
47. பெரியாழ்வார், 16, 17, 63, 65
48. பெரியாழ்வார், 52
49. பெருங்கதை, 1, 55
50. மீனாட்சியம்மை குறம், 33
51. மூதுரை, 8
52. Burhān-i-Qāṭi, 22
53. Comparative Grammar of Dravidian languages (Caldwell), 2, 5, 11, 27, 36, 40
54. Comus (Milton), 7
55. Critical Studies in Kural (M. S. Poornalingam Pillai), 5
56. Customs and Customary Law, 21
57. Golden Bough (Fraser), (Vol. II), 5, 17, 18, 31
58. Hamlet (Shakespeare), 60
59. History of the Tamils (P. T. Srinivasa Iyyangar), 26, 28
60. Hobson-Jobson, 23, 38, 73

61. Indian ideal of marriage (Tagore), 58, 59
  62. Introduction to modern Linguistics (Palmer), 29
  63. Key of Knowledge, 26
  64. Language (Vendryes), 10, 28, 67
  65. Malayalam Dictionary (Gundert), 14, 15, 23
  66. Mankind, Nation and Individual (Jespersen), 31
  67. Marco Polo's Travels, 38
  68. Meaning and Change of meaning (G. Stern), 36
  69. Outlines of the History of the English Language (E. Classen), Foreword, ii.
  70. Persia, (Malcolm), (Vol. II), 22
  71. Personal ornaments of the Madrasi, M. C. C. M., Sept., (1913), 16, 17, 18
  72. Principles of Human Physiology (Starling), 12
  73. Semantics (Breal), 9
  74. Science of Language, 69
  75. Stone age in India (P. T. Srinivasa Iyyangar), 19
  76. Study of words (Trench), 4, 54, 58
  77. Tamils eighteen hundred years ago, 41
  78. Tamil Lexicon, Vol. I to VI and supplement, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 29, 35, 37, 38, 53, 54, 56, 64, 72, 73, 74, 75
-

# Index

Compiled by

V. JAYADEVAN

## A

A (ஆ), 14f.

Ā (ஆ), 39

Accan (அச்சன்), 75

Aḍai-y-ōlai (அடையோலை), 62

Adam's Apple, 12

Adam's Bridge, 2f.

Adan̄am (ஆதனம்), 69f.

Āḍavan (ஆடவன்), 5

Aḍi (அடி), 42

Aḍicariyāḷ (அடிச்சரியான்), 55f.

Ādi-c-cēri (ஆதிச்சேரி), 55

Adi-c-cēri-yāḷ (அடிச்சேரியான்),  
55f.

Aḍi-kaḷ (அடிகள்), 25

Aḍiyār (அடியார்), 25, 42

Aḍiyārkkū-Nallār, (அடியார்க்கு  
நல்லார்) 14f., 24f., 25f., 41f.,  
46f., 52, 64f.

Aḍu (அடு), 75

Aḍutta viḍu (அடுத்த வீடு), 75f.

Aha-c-camayam (அகச்சமயம்), 10

Aha-itaḷ (அக இதழ்), 10

Aha-k-kāḷ (அகக்காழ்), 10

Ahala-v-urai (அகலவுரை), 46

Aham (அகம்), 9, 10, 11, 23f.

Aham-tūymai (அகம் தூய்மை), 11

Ahamuḍaiyāḷ (அகமுடையான்), 10

Ahamuḍaiyan (அகமுடையான்),  
10

Ahappaḍutal (அகப்படுதல்), 10

Ahappahai (அகப்பகை), 10

Ahapporuḷ (அகப்பொருள்), 10

Ahattāḷ (அகத்தான்), 10

Ahattān (அகத்தான்), 10

Ai (ஐ), 14f., 27

Aimbon (ஐம்பொன்), 37

Aimmin (ஐம்மீன்), 1f.

Aivar Malai (ஐவர் மலை), 32

Aiyan (ஐயன்), 27

Ājivaka, 24

Ajja, 75

Āḷ (ஆழ்), 42

Āḷ (ஆள்), 5, 54

Alakkaṇ (அலக்கண்), 7f.

Alar (அலர்), 13

Āḷar (ஆளர்), 40

Ali (அழி), 18

Āḷi (ஆழி), 18

Āḷi (ஆளி), 54

Allikkēṇi (அல்லிக்கேணி), 3

Āḷvār (ஆழ்வார்), 42

Āḷvār-kuṟicci (ஆழ்வார் குறிச்சி),  
33

Am (அம்), 40

Āmā (ஆமா), 39f.

Amaiccar-cēri, 55f.

Amalai (அமலை), 64

Amali (அமலி), 64

Amaḷi (அமளி), 64

Āmakkaḷ (ஆமக்கள்), 41

- Āmakkan (ஆமக்கன்), 41f.  
 Āmān (ஆமான்), 39f.  
 Āmaṇakku eṇṇei (ஆமணக்கு  
எண்ணெய்), 49  
 Amaṇam (அமணம்), 25  
 Amar (அமர்), 63  
 Amar-k-kaḷam (அமர்க்களம்), 63  
 Āmbaḍayāl (ஆம்படயான்), 10f.  
 Āmbaḍayān (ஆம்படயான்), 10f.  
 Āmbūr (ஆம்பூர்), 3f.  
 Ammai (அம்மை), 31  
 Ammai-kuttal, 31  
 Ammai-muttu (அம்மை முத்து), 31  
 Ammai-viḷaiyāṭṭu (அம்மை  
விளையாட்டு), 31  
 Ammaṇam (அம்மணம்), 25  
 Ammān-cēy (அம்மான் சேய்), 28  
 Ammāñji (அம்மாஞ்சி), 28  
 Āmūr (ஆமூர்), 3f.  
 An (அன்), 27, 40, 51, 57  
 Āṇ (ஆண்), 56  
 Ān (ஆன்), 39  
 Anbu (அன்பு), 68  
 Āṇḍai (ஆண்டை), 54  
 Āṇḍai-viḍu (ஆண்டை வீடு), 75f.  
 Āṇḍān (ஆண்டான்), 54  
 Andaṇaṇ (அந்தணன்), 39  
 Andaṇar (அந்தணர்), 40  
 Andaṇar-cēri (அந்தணர் சேரி),  
55f.  
 Āndhra, 35  
 Andi (அந்தி), 70  
 Āṇḍi (ஆண்டி), 54  
 Andi-k-kaḍai (அந்திக் கடை), 70f.  
 Āṇḍi-p-paṇḍāram (ஆண்டிப்  
பண்டாரம்), 54  
 Aṇḍu (அண்டு), 75  
 Aṇi (அணி), 2  
 Aṇikalam, (அணிகலம்), 19  
 Aṇil (அணில்), 2  
 Aṇindurai (அணிந்துரை), 46  
 Aṇiṇ-piḷḷai (அணிற் பிள்ளை), 56  
 Āṇ-mahan (ஆண் மகன்), 5f.  
 Āṇmai (ஆண்மை), 5  
 Āṇ-makkaḷ (ஆண் மக்கள்), 41  
 Āṇ-piḷai-p-piḷḷai (ஆண் பிளைப்  
பிள்ளை), 56  
 Āṇ-piḷḷai (ஆண் பிள்ளை), 56  
 Apayam (அபயம்), 4f.  
 Appa-vāṇihan (அப்ப வாணிகள்),  
40  
 Appāvi (அப்பாவி), 54  
 Ar (அர்), 41  
 Ār (ஆர்), 34  
 Arabian, 22  
 Arabic, 22, 23  
 Arai (அறை), 43, 44, 67  
 Arai-nāṇ (அரை நாண்), 17, 62  
 Arai-nāṇ-kayiru (அரை நாண்  
கயிறு), 76  
 Arai-nāṇ-koḍi (அரை நாண்  
கொடி), 17  
 Aranākkōḍi (அரநாக்கொடி), 17  
 Arasaṇ (அரசன்), 74  
 Arasi (அரசி), 30  
 Arattam (அரத்தம்), 74  
 Aravaṇa aḍikaḷ (அறவண  
அடிகள்), 25  
 Aravōr-paḷḷi (அறவோர் பள்ளி),  
42  
 Arhat (அருகன்), 37  
 Arimā (அரிமா), 39  
 Arimān (அரிமான்), 39f.  
 Aṇiṇaṇ (அறிஞன்), 72  
 Ari-vāḷ-maṇai (அரிவாள்மனை), 62  
 Aṇivaṇ (அறிவன்), 72  
 Aṇivu (அறிவு), 72  
 Aṇivuḍaimai (அறிவுடைமை), 42  
 Aṇivu-nūl (அறிவுநூல்), 72  
 Āriyaṇ (ஆரியன்), 75  
 Ār-k-kāḍu (ஆர்க்காடு), 34  
 Ār-k-kōṇam (ஆர்க்கோணம்), 34  
 Ārkōṇam (ஆர்கோணம்), 34  
 Ārtti (ஆர்த்தி), 34  
 Aṇu (அறு), 43  
 Āru-kāḍu (ஆறு காடு), 34

Aruḷ (அருள்), 68  
 Arumīṇ (அறுமீன்), 1  
 Arunākkayaṟu (அருநாக்  
 கயறு), 76  
 Aruntati (அருந்ததி), 1f.  
 Aṟuppu (அறுப்பு), 43, 44  
 Aṟuppu-c-cuham (அறுப்புச்சுகம்),  
 44  
 Aṟuppu-k-kālam (அறுப்புக்  
 காலம்), 44  
 Ārūr (ஆரூர்), 34  
 Aṟuttal (அறுத்தல்), 44  
 Aṟuttavaḷ (அறுத்தவள்), 44  
 Aṟuvaḍai (அறுவடை), 44  
 Aṟuvai (அறுவை), 43, 44  
 Aruvāmaṇai (அருவாமணை), 62  
 Ārya, 75  
 Āsai (ஆசை), 71  
 Āsai-aṟumīṇ (ஆசை அறுமீன்), 71  
 Āsai-k-kilatti (ஆசைக்கிழத்தி), 71  
 Āsai-marundu (ஆசைமருந்து), 71  
 Āsai-nāyahāṇ (ஆசைநாயகன்), 71  
 Āsaiyiṇ kaṇi (ஆசையின்கனி), 71  
 Āsaṇam (ஆசனம்), 69f.  
 Āsivaka-p-paḷḷi (ஆசீவகப்பள்ளி),  
 24  
 Assyrians, 17  
 Atar (அதர்), 28  
 Attam (அத்தம்), 1f.  
 Ātti (ஆத்தி), 34  
 Āṭṭukkiḍai (ஆட்டுக்கிடை), 70  
 Avā (அவா), 71  
 Āval (ஆவல்), 71  
 Āvaṇi (ஆவணி), 75  
 Avatūru (அவதூறு), 53  
 Avāval (அவாவல்), 71  
 Avā-v-aṟuttal (அவாவறுத்தல்), 71  
 Avayam (அவயம்), 4f.  
 Ayaḷāṇ (அயலான்), 10  
 Āyampāḍi (ஆயம்பாடி), 34  
 Āyarpāḍi (ஆயர்பாடி), 34  
 Ayil-uḷavan (அயில் உழவன்), 13  
 Aiyirai Malai (அயிரை மலை), 32

## B

Bāgil, 15f.  
 Bākil, 15f.  
 Bāṇa, 63  
 Bāṇḍi, 44f.  
 Beschi, 9f.  
 Bharatā, 17  
 Bhārati (பாரதி), 57  
 Billingsgate, 52  
 Buddhas, 26  
 Buddhism, 24, 25  
 Buddhist, 26, 42, 61  
 Buddhists, 24

## C

Cahaḍam (சகடம்), 45  
 Cahaḍa-vaṇḍi (சகட வண்டி),  
 45, 75  
 Cakkaḍā - vaṇḍi (சக்கடா வண்டி),  
 45, 75  
 Calam (சலம்), 72  
 Caldwell, Dr., 2  
 Camaṇam (சமணம்), 25  
 Caṅgu (சங்கு), 12  
 Cāraṇar (சாரணர்), 61  
 Cāraṇar-iyakkam (சாரணர்  
 இயக்கம்), 61  
 Cāṟru (சாற்று), 67  
 Cāttanār (சாத்தனார்), 40  
 Cavukku (சவுக்கு), 22  
 Cēkkai (சேக்கை), 27f.  
 Cēla, 14f.  
 Cēlai (சேலை), 14f.  
 Cellākkāsu (செல்லாக்காசு), 66  
 Celvam (செல்வம்), 66  
 Cemboruḷ (செம்பொருள்), 9  
 Cembu (செம்பு), 37f., 48  
 Cemmai (செம்மை), 9  
 Cēṇam (சேணம்), 22  
 Ceṅḡōlan (செங்கோலன்), 9  
 Ceṅḡōṇmai (செங்கோன்மை), 9  
 Ceṅḡulam (செங்குளம்), 12f.



- Cenṛāṇ (சென்றான்), 31  
 Centāmarai (செந்தாமரை), 37  
 Centamiḷ (செந்தமிழ்), 9  
 Ceppam (செப்பம்), 9  
 Ceppu-c-cembu (செப்புச்செம்பு), 48  
 Cēr (சேர்), 55  
 Cērār (சேரார்), 10  
 Cēri (சேரி), 55  
 Cērkkai (சேர்க்கை), 27f.  
 Cērndār (சேர்ந்தார்), 10  
 Ceruhu (செருகு), 48f.  
 Cēvahan (சேவகன்), 42  
 Cey (செய்), 60  
 Cēy (சேய்), 28  
 Ceydi (செய்தி), 60  
 Ceyhai (செய்கை), 60  
 Ceylon, 17  
 Chābuk, 22  
 Chāvi (சாவி), 29  
 Chēra king, 20  
 Chēra kings, 32  
 Chēras, 32  
 Chaiir, 29  
 Chingleput, 32  
 Chōḷa king, 20, 21  
 Chōḷa maṇḍalam (சோழ மண்டலம்), 20  
 Chōḷas, 34, 63  
 Christianity, 24  
 Ciccili (சிச்சிலி), 69f.  
 Cilai (சீலை), 14  
 Cilappadikāram (சிலப்பதிகாரம்), 14, 21, 25, 29, 41, 49, 52, 63, 64  
 Ciṅgam (சிங்கம்), 39f.  
 Cinnūḷ (சின்னூல்), 4  
 Cīrai (சீரை), 14  
 Cīrāppaḷḷi (சிராப்பள்ளி), 32, 33  
 Cīrrūr, 34  
 Cīrrurai (சிற்றுரை), 46  
 Cīr-tūkkal (சீர்தூக்கல்), 8  
 Cīr-tūrral (சீர்தூற்றல்), 53  
 Cīrukkan (சிறுக்கன்), 52  
 Cīrukki (சிறுக்கி), 52  
 Cīrumi (சிறுமி), 52  
 Cīruvan (சிறுவன்), 52  
 Cīruvi (சிறுவி), 52  
 Cittirai (சித்திரை), 1f.  
 Civappu-mai (சிவப்பு மை), 48  
 Civiṛi (சிவிறி), 74  
 Col (சொல்), 67  
 Col-ēr-ulavar (சொல் ஏருழவர்), 13  
 Combu (சொம்பு), 48f.  
 Coorg, 35  
 Coruhu (சொருகு), 48f.  
 Cuṅḡāṇ (சங்கான்), 23f.  
 Cūḍāmaṇi (சூடாமணி), 22  
 Cuḍar (சுடர்), 46  
 Cuḍu (சுடு), 46  
 Cūḷ (சூழ்), 54  
 Cūḷal (சூழல்), 54  
 Cūḷcci (சூழ்ச்சி), 54  
 Cūḷvān (சூழ்வான்), 54  
 Cukkāṇ (சுக்கான்), 23  
 Cūṇai (சுணை), 12  
 Cūrā-vaḷi-k-kārru (சூரவளிக் காற்று), 76  
 Cūrā - vaḷi - k-kāttu (சூரவளிக் காத்து), 76  
 Curuḷ (சுருள்), 73  
 Curuṭṭu (சுருட்டு), 73  
 Cuṭṭa-man (சுட்ட மண்), 47  
 Cutti, 73f.

## D

- Dasaratha, 17  
 Degradation, 36, 49  
 Dēva-aḍiyāḷ (தேவ அடியாள்), 51  
 Dēvā-dāsi (தேவதாசி), 51  
 Digambara, 25  
 Dimorphism, 75  
 Discus, 18f.

Drew, 50f.  
Dutch, 29f.

## E

Eḍai (எடை), 8  
Eḍuttal (எடுத்தல்), 8  
Egmore, 3  
El (எல்), 45  
Eḷ (எள்), 49, 71  
Elevation, 36, 56  
Elhai (எல்கை), 15f.  
Eḷil (எழில்), 1  
Eḷili (எழிலி), 1  
Ellai (எல்லை), 15f., 45, 46  
Elli (எல்லி), 45  
Eḷudu-kōl (எழுதுகோல்), 19, 28  
Eḷumbūr (எழும்பூர்), 3  
Eḷumūr (எழுமூர்), 3  
Eḷuttu (எழுத்து), 28  
Eḷuttu-nilai-maṇṭapam  
(எழுத்து நிலை மண்டபம்), 28  
Eḷutu (எழுது), 28  
Eṇṇay (எண்ணை), 49f.  
Eṇṇei (எண்ணெய்), 49, 71  
Ēri (ஏரி), 12  
Euphonic nasalisation, 74  
Ēval (ஏவல்), 69  
Ēval Viṇai (ஏவல் வினை), 69  
Expansion, 36, 45  
Eyirū (எயிறு), 70

## F

Faras, 22  
Fossil poetry, 1  
Fraser, 4, 17, 18, 31

## G

Gnāṇam (ஞானம்), 72  
Gnāṇēndiriyam  
(ஞானேந்திரியம்), 72  
Gnāṇi (ஞானி), 72

Greek, 22, 23  
Gundert Dr., 23  
Gurramu, 22

## H

Hebrew, 22  
Hill of the five, 32  
Hindu bards, 37  
Hinduism, 24  
Hindu Mythology, 50  
Hindu Philosophy, 26

## I

Ī (ஈ), 67  
Iḍai-p-paḷḷi (இடைப்பள்ளி), 24  
Iḍai-vāsal (இடைவாசல்), 61  
Iḍaiyar (இடையர்), 33  
Iḍam (இடம்), 71  
Īhai (ஈகை), 67  
Il (இல்), 2, 20, 43, 61  
Iḷa (இழ), 43  
Ilai (இலை), 38  
Iḷai (இழை), 18  
Ilai-vāṇihan (இலை வாணிகன்),  
38, 40  
Ilai-vāṇiyan (இலை வாணியன்),  
38  
Ilakkaṇam (இலக்கணம்), 75  
Iḷaṅgō-Aḍikaḷ (இளங்கோ  
அடிகள்), 25  
Iḷani (இளநி), 12f.  
Iḷanīr (இளநீர்), 12f.  
Iḷaṅji (இலஞ்சி), 12f.  
Iḷaṭṭaṇam (இலட்சணம்), 75  
Iḷaviḍu, 43  
Iḷavōlai (இழவோலை), 43  
Iḷavu (இழவு), 43  
Iḷavūl (இழவூழ்), 43  
Iḷavu-viḍu (இழவு வீடு), 43  
Illāṇ (இல்லான்), 43  
Illār (இல்லார்), 43

Il-mun (இல் முன்), 61  
 Il-vāy (இல் வாய்), 61  
 Imayam, 37  
 Incarceration, 26  
 In-kaṇ (இன்கண்), 7  
 Inmai (இன்மை), 43  
 Ira (இர), 57  
 Irai (இறை), 20  
 Iraivan (இறைவன்), 20  
 Iratta-k-karai (இரத்தக்கறை), 48  
 Irattal (இரத்தல்), 57  
 Irattam (இரத்தம்), 74  
 Iraval (இரவல்), 57  
 Iravalan (இரவலன்), 57  
 Iraval-cāmān (இரவல் சாமான்), 57  
 Iraval-mākkaḷ (இரவல் மாக்கள்), 57  
 Iravu (இரவு), 57  
 Irāyan (இராயன்), 74  
 Irēvati (இரேவதி), 1f.  
 Īru (ஈறு), 70  
 Iruḷ (இருள்), 73f.  
 Irumbu (இரும்பு), 37f.  
 Iruṭṭu (இருட்டு), 73f.  
 Islam, 25  
 Itukkaṇ, (இடுக்கண்), 7f.  
 Īyam (ஈயம்), 37f.  
 Iyambu (இயம்பு), 67

## J

Jaffna Dictionary, 40f.  
 Jaina, 26, 42, 61  
 Jaina Dharma, 26  
 Jainas, 26  
 Jainism, 24, 25, 33  
 Jains, 24, 26  
 Jala, 72  
 Jalam (ஜலம்), 72  
 Janella, 29  
 Jannal (ஜன்னல்), 29  
 Jesperson, 31

## K

Kaḍai-k-kaṇ (கடைக்கண்), 8f.  
 Kaḍai-k-kaṇittal (கடைக்  
 கணித்தல்), 8  
 Kādal (காதல்), 50  
 Kaḍal-karai-āṇḍi (கடல் கரை  
 ஆண்டி), 54  
 Kaḍāṭcam (கடாட்சம்), 8f.  
 Kaḍumā (கடுமா), 39f.  
 Kaḍumān (கடுமான்), 39f.  
 Kaḍuvām-pūṇai (கடுவாம் பூனை),  
 76  
 Kaḍuvan-pūṇai (கடுவன் பூனை), 76  
 Kaikēsi (கைகேசி), 17  
 Kaimmā (கைம்மா), 39  
 Kaimmai (கைம்மை), 52  
 Kaimpeṇ (கைம்பெண்), 52  
 Kaimpeṇḍāṭṭi  
 (கைம்பெண்டாட்டி), 52  
 Kal (கல்), 19  
 Kaḷ (கள்), 58  
 Kāl (கால்), 28  
 Kal-aḍḍigai (கல் அட்டிகை), 19  
 Kaḷai (களை), 13  
 Kaḷaital (களைதல்), 13  
 Kalam (கலம்), 13  
 Kaḷam (களம்), 63  
 Kālar (காலதர்), 28  
 Kalavai (கலவை), 45  
 Kaḷi (களி), 58, 59f.  
 Kaḷippu (களிப்பு), 58, 59  
 Kaḷittal (களித்தல்), 58, 59  
 Kallāḍam (கல்லாடம்), 63  
 Kaḷḷakkuṛicci (கள்ளக்குறிச்சி), 33  
 Kallīḍaikkuricci (கல்லிடைக்  
 குறிச்சி), 34  
 Kallūri (கல்லூரி), 72  
 Kalvi (கல்வி), 72  
 Kāmam (காமம்), 49, 50  
 Kāman, (காமன்), 50  
 Kamattu-p-pāl (காமத்துப்பால்),  
 50

Kāṁavēḷ (காமவேள்), 50  
 Kamban (கம்பன்), 4, 28  
 Kāmi (காமி), 49  
 Kammanāṭṭi (கம்மனாட்டி), 52  
 Kaṇ (கண்), 7  
 Kaṇakasabhai Pillai (கனகசபை  
பிள்ளை), 40f.  
 Kānchi (காஞ்சி), 25  
 Kaṇi (கனி), 13  
 Kaṇmai (கண்மை), 7  
 Kāṇmuḷai (காண்முளை), 13  
 Kaṇṇahi (கண்ணகி), 7, 21, 41  
 Kaṇṇōṭṭam (கண்ணோட்டம்), 8  
 Kaṇnu (கன்னு), 39  
 Kaṇnu-k-kuṭṭi (கன்னுக்குட்டி), 39  
 Kaṇnu-vidal (கன்னுவிடல்), 39  
 Kaṇ-pārttal (கண் பார்த்தல்), 8  
 Kaṇru (கன்று), 39  
 Kapilar (கபிலர்), 34f.  
 Kāppidutal (காப்பிடுதல்), 16  
 Kāppu (காப்பு), 16, 18  
 Kāppu-nāṇ (காப்பு நாண்), 16, 17  
 Kaṟ, 48  
 Kara, 33  
 Kaṟai (கறை), 48  
 Kārāḷar (காராளர்), 55  
 Karapuram (கரபுரம்), 33  
 Kār-eḷ (காரெள்), 49  
 Kāreḷ-eṇṇei (காரெள்  
எண்ணெய்), 49  
 Kārihai (காரிகை), 5  
 Kār-kōḷ (கார் கோள்), 35  
 Karma, 25, 26  
 Kaṟṟavan (கற்றவன்), 72  
 Kārsēri (கார்ச்சேரி), 55  
 Karu-mā (கருமா), 39  
 Karumboṇ (கரும்பொண்), 37  
 Karumbu (கரும்பு), 62  
 Karuppaṭṭi (கருப்பட்டி), 62  
 Kāruppu (கருப்பு), 62  
 Karuppu-k-kaṟai (கறுப்புக்கறை),  
41

Karuppu-k-kaṭṭi (கருப்புக்கட்டி),  
62  
 Kaṟuppu mai (கறுப்பு மை), 48  
 Karūr (கரூர்), 33  
 Karutturai (கருத்துரை), 46  
 Kaṟai-mīṇ (கடைமீன்), 1f.  
 Kaṟākṣa, 8f.  
 Kaṭṭi (கட்டி), 62  
 Kāṭṭu-p-pasu (காட்டுப்பசு), 39f.  
 Kaṭṭurai (கட்டுரை), 46  
 Kāvalaṇ (காவலன்), 65  
 Kavari mā (கவரி மா), 39  
 Kavari-māṇ (கவரிமான்), 39f.  
 Kāvēri (காவேரி), 3, 20  
 Kaviri-p-pumbaṭṭiṇam (காவிரிப்  
பூம்பட்டினம்), 26  
 Kavundi-aḍikaḷ (கவுந்தி அடிகள்),  
25  
 Kāy (காய்), 6, 13  
 Kayam (கயம்), 12  
 Kāy-viḷutal, 6f.  
 Kēḷ (கேள்), 60, 61  
 Kēḷvi (கேள்வி), 60  
 Kēṇi (கேணி), 12  
 Kēṭṭal (கேட்டல்), 60  
 Khorassan, 22  
 Kiḍa (கிட), 70  
 Kiḍai (கிடை), 70  
 Kiḍakkai (கிடக்கை), 70  
 Kiḍattal (கிடத்தல்), 70  
 Kiḷa (கிள), 3  
 Kiḷai (கிளை), 13, 27  
 Kiḷaijṇar (கிளைஞர்), 13  
 Kiḷamai, 40f.  
 Kiḷār (கிழார்), 40f.  
 Kiḷavi (கிளவி), 3  
 Kiḷi (கிளி), 3  
 Kiḷi-p-piḷḷai (கிளிப்பிள்ளை), 56  
 Kīri-p-piḷḷai (கீரிப்பிள்ளை), 56  
 Kō (கோ), 20, 39f.  
 Koḍai (கொடை), 68  
 Kōḍai (கோடை), 35

- Kōḍambākkam (கோடம்பாக்கம்), 34  
 Koḍi (கொடி), 5, 13, 17  
 Koḍu (கொடு), 67, 68  
 Kōḍu (கோடு), 9  
 Koḍumai (கொடுமை), 9  
 Koḍuṅḡōlan (கொடுங்கோலன்), 9  
 Koḍuṅḡōmai (கொடுங்  
     கோன்மை), 9  
 Koḍuntamiḷ (கொடுந்தமிழ்), 9, 52  
 Kol (கொல்), 65, 19  
 Kōl (கோல்), 19  
 Koḷkalam (கொள்கலம்), 19  
 Kombu (கொம்பு), 13  
 Kōṇ (கோன்), 20  
 Koṇḍal (கொண்டல்), 35  
 Koppuḷam (கொப்புளம்), 74  
 Kōram (கோரம்), 22  
 Koranāḍ, 15  
 Koṟkai (கொற்கை), 20  
 Koṟkai-t-turaivan (கொற்கைத்  
     துறைவன்), 20  
 Koṟkai-yāḷi (கொற்கையாளி), 20  
 Kornāḍ, 15  
 Koṟṟavai (கொற்றவை), 32  
 Koṟṟavan (கொற்றவன்), 65  
 Kōṭṭam (கோட்டம்), 9  
 Kōṭṭumā (கோட்டுமா), 39f.  
 Koṭumai (கொடுமை), 7f.  
 Kōvalan (கோவலன்), 7  
 Kōvēru-kaluthai (கோவேறு  
     கழுதை), 44  
 Kōyil (கோயில்), 20  
 Krishna, 63  
 Ku (கு), 34  
 Kuḍahu (குடகு), 35  
 Kuḍakku (குடக்கு), 34  
 Kūḍam (கூடம்), 29  
 Kuḍa-muṇi (குடமுனி), 35  
 Kuḍanāḍ, 52  
 Kuḍanāḍu (குடநாடு), 35  
 Kūḍār (கூடார்), 10  
 Kuda-vaḷai (குதவளை), 12  
 Kuḍavāsal (குடவாசல்), 61  
 Kuḍavāyil (குடவாயில்), 61  
 Kūḍinār (கூடினார்), 10  
 Kūḍu (கூடு), 4, 74  
 Kuḷai (குழை), 13  
 Kuḷaittal (குழைத்தல்), 13  
 Kuḷam (குளம்), 12  
 Kulavai (குலவை), 64  
 Kūla-vāṇihan (கூலவாணிகள்), 40  
 Kūla-vāṇihan-cātṭanār  
     (கூலவாணிகள் சாத்தனார்), 40  
 Kuḷavi (குழவி), 56  
 Kūḷppatanār (கூழ்ப்பதநீர்), 30f.  
 Kumil (குமிழ்), 74  
 Kuṇakku (குணக்கு), 34  
 Kuṇa-vāyil (குணவாயில்), 61  
 Kūṇḍu (கூண்டு), 74  
 Kūṇḍu-vaṇḍi (கூண்டுவண்டி),  
     74f.  
 Kūppatani (கூப்பதனி), 30f.  
 Kūppatanār (கூப்பதநீர்), 30f.  
 Kūṟai-nāḍu (கூறைநாடு), 15  
 Kuṟal (குறள்), 68  
 Kūṟal (கூறல்), 53  
 Kural-vaḷai (குரல்வளை), 11  
 Kuṟava, 64  
 Kuravai (குரவை), 64  
 Kuṟicci (குறிச்சி), 33  
 Kuṟiṇji (குறிஞ்சி), 33, 34f.  
 Kurra, 22  
 Kurra-vicāraṇai (குற்ற  
     விசாரனை), 22  
 Kūru (கூறு), 67  
 Kuruṅḡaṇ (குறுங்கண்), 28  
 Kuṭṭam (குட்டம்), 12f.  
 Kūttan (கூத்தன்), 51  
 Kuṭṭi (குட்டி), 39  
 Kūtti (கூத்தி), 51  
 Kuyirru (கuyிற்று), 67  
 Kavayamā (கவயமா), 39f.  
     L  
 Lakāṇ (லகான்), 22  
 Lakṣaṇa, 75

Lagām, 22  
 Langar, 23  
 Language and Culture, 1  
 Lanka, 33  
 Laranja, 23  
 Lord Krishna, 63  
 Lotus-Tank, 3

## M

Mā (மா), 2, 39, 39f.  
 Maḍai-p-paḷḷi (மடைப் பள்ளி), 24  
 Madamā (மதமா), 39f.  
 Madhva Brahmins, 74  
 Madras, 3, 45  
 Maḍu (மடு), 12f.  
 Māḍu (மாடு), 66  
 Madura, 26  
 Mahābali (மகாபலி), 32  
 Mahābalipuram (மகாபலிபுரம்), 23  
 Mahavu (மகவு), 56  
 Mai (மை), 48  
 Maimmā (மைம்மா), 39f.  
 Maindan (மைந்தன்), 5  
 Maindu (மைந்து), 5f.  
 Makkaḷ (மக்கள்), 11, 41  
 Mākkaḷ (மாக்கள்), 11  
 Māla, 36f.  
 Malabār, 14, 23  
 Malai (மலை), 36, 37  
 Malaināḍ, 14  
 Malaiyam (மலையம்), 36  
 Malaiya-mārutham (மலைய  
 மாருதம்), 37  
 Malar (மலர்), 13, 37, 38  
 Malarāḍi (மலராடி), 38  
 Malarcci (மலர்ச்சி), 13  
 Malaya, 36f.  
 Malayāḷam, 23  
 Malcolm, 22  
 Mallāḍal (மல்லாடல்), 63  
 Mallah, 23  
 Mallan (மல்லன்), 63

Mallai (மல்லை), 32  
 Mālumi (மாலுமி), 23  
 Maḷuṅgu (மழுங்கு), 30f.  
 Māmallai (மாமல்லை), 32  
 Māmallan (மாமல்லன்), 32  
 Māmallapuram (மாமல்லபுரம்), 32  
 Maṇ (மன்), 65  
 Maṇ (மண்), 61  
 Māṇ (மான்), 39  
 Maṇai (மணை), 61, 62  
 Maṇam (மணம்), 6  
 Māṇā-māri-k-kuḷam (மாணமாரிக்  
 குளம்), 12  
 Maṇattal (மணத்தல்), 6  
 Maṇavāḷa-p-piḷḷai (மணவாளப்  
 பிள்ளை), 57  
 Mandamā (மந்தமா), 39f.  
 Maṇ-Enṇēi (மண் எண்ணெய்), 49  
 Maṅgu (மங்கு), 30f.  
 Māṇikkavāsagar (மாணிக்க வாச  
 கர்), 25  
 Maṇimēhalai (மணிமேகலை), 26, 40  
 Maṇjaḷ (மஞ்சள்), 49f.  
 Maṇjaḷ-Kaṇai (மஞ்சள் கறை), 48  
 Maṇjaṇai (மஞ்சளை), 49f.  
 Maṇjaṇey (மஞ்சனெய்), 49f.  
 Maṇju (மஞ்சு), 1  
 Maṇju tavaḷdal (மஞ்சு தவழ்தல்), 1  
 Maṇṇan (மன்னன்), 65  
 Miṇṇūi (மின்னூல்), 18f.  
 Maṇṇāḍal (மன்னாடல்), 63  
 Maṇṇāḍi (மன்னாடி), 63  
 Maṇṇam (மன்றம்), 63  
 Maṇṇu (மன்று), 63  
 Māppilḷai (மாப்பிள்ளை), 57  
 Marakkāl (மரக்கால்), 62  
 Marakkalam (மரக்கலம்), 19  
 Maṇa-k-karpu (மறக் கற்பு), 41  
 Maṇam (மறம்), 41  
 Maṇavar (மறவர்), 41

Marco Polo, 38  
 Mārram (மாற்றம்), 47  
 Mārruyarnda-pon (மாற்றுயர்ந்த  
 பொன்), 47  
 Māru (மாறு), 47  
 Marundu (மருந்து), 54  
 Marutam (மருதம்), 33  
 Maruttuvacci (மருத்துவச்சி), 54,  
 55  
 Maruttuva-kulam (மருத்துவ  
 குலம்), 55f.  
 Maruttuvan (மருத்துவன்), 54,  
 55  
 Maruttuvan Tāmōdaran (மருத்து  
 வன் தாமோதரன்), 54, 55  
 Mātavar paḷḷi (மாதவர் பள்ளி),  
 24  
 Mātṭa, 47  
 Max Muller, 69  
 Māyavaram (மாயவரம்), 4, 15  
 Mayil (மயில்), 2  
 Mayil-āḍu-turai (மயிலாடு  
 துறை), 3  
 Mayilai (மயிலை), 3  
 Mayilāppūr (மயிலாப்பூர்), 3  
 Māyūrapuram (மாயூரபுரம்), 4  
 Mayūravaram (மாயூரவரம்), 4  
 Mella (மெல்ல), 48f.  
 Meḷḷa (மெள்ள), 48f.  
 Meḷuhu (மெழுகு), 48f.  
 Metathesis, 74  
 Mey (மெய்), 6  
 Mey-eḷuttu (மெய்எழுத்து), 5  
 Meymmai (மெய்மை), 6  
 Mey-p-poruḷ (மெய்ப்பொருள்), 6  
 Mikāṇ (மீகான்), 23  
 Miḷahāi-p-poḍi (மிளகாய்ப்  
 பொடி), 45  
 Miḷarru (மிழற்று), 67  
 Milton, 7  
 Min (மின்), 2  
 Mīn (மீன்), 1, 2  
 Mīnāṭchi (மீனாட்சி), 20

Minavan (மினவன்), 20  
 Min-eṇṇei (மின் எண்ணெய்), 49  
 Miruka-cīṟṭam (மிருகசீரிடம்), 1f.  
 Moḷḷa (மொள்ள), 48f.  
 Moḷuhu (மொழுகு), 48f.  
 Moṭṭai-vaṇḍi (மொட்டை வண்டி),  
 74f.  
 Muḍiccu (முடிச்சு), 17, 18  
 Muḍiccu-k-kārai (முடிச்சுக்  
 காரை), 17f.  
 Muḍivurai (முடிவுரை), 46  
 Muhammadanism, 24  
 Muhammadans, 41  
 Muhavurai (முகவுரை), 46  
 Mukil (முகிழ்), 74  
 Muḷai (முளை), 13  
 Muḷmā (முள்மா), 39  
 Mullai (முல்லை), 33  
 Mummin (மும்மீன்), 1f.  
 Muṇḍa, 51  
 Muṇḍai (முண்டை), 51  
 Muṇḍan (முண்டன்), 51  
 Muṇṇurai (முன்னுரை), 46  
 Muṇṇil (முன்றில்), 61  
 Muṇ-vāsal (முன்வாசல்), 61f.  
 Murram (முற்றம்), 61  
 Maruṇmā (மருண்மா), 39f.

## N

Naccinārkkiniyar (நச்சினூர்க்  
 கினியர்), 23f., 38f., 40f., 62f.  
 Naḍa (நட), 64  
 Naḍai (நடை), 64  
 Naḍam (நடம்), 64  
 Naḍamāḍal (நடமாடல்), 64  
 Naḍamāṭṭam (நடமாட்டம்), 64  
 Naḍu-nilai (நடுநிலை), 8  
 Naḍuvakkuricci (நடுவக்குறிச்சி),  
 33  
 Naḍuvan (நடுவன்), 32  
 Nākhudā, 23  
 Nal (நல்), 58

Nalam (நலம்), 57, 58  
 Nalla ney (நல்ல நெய்), 56  
 Nalla pāmbu (நல்லபாம்பு), 31  
 Nalleṇṇēi (நல்லெண்ணெய்), 49  
 Nāṇ (நாண்), 1  
 Nan̄cey (நன்செய்), 49f.  
 Nāṅgun̄ēri (நாங்குனேரி), 12f.  
 Nāṅguraṁ (நங்குரம்), 23  
 Nāṇṇilam (நாணிலம்), 33  
 Nāṇṇai (நஞ்சை), 49f.  
 Nāṇjanāḍḍ, 25f.  
 Nāṇmai (நன்மை), 57, 58  
 Nāṇṇūl (நன்னூல்), 4, 58  
 Nāṇṇi (நன்றி), 57, 58  
 Nāṇṇi-kūṇal (நன்றிகூறல்), 58  
 Nāṇṇu (நன்றி), 57, 58  
 Nār, 23  
 Nārakam (நாரகம்), 23f.  
 Nārāl (நாறல்), 56  
 Nārāl ney (நாறல் நெய்), 56  
 Narancia, 23  
 Nāra ney (நாற நெய்), 56  
 Nāraṅg, 23  
 Nāraṅga, 23  
 Nāraṅga, 23  
 Nāraṅgai, 23  
 Nāranj, 23, 23f.  
 Naranja, 23  
 Naraṅṇa, 23  
 Narasimhavarman (நரசிம்மவர்  
 மன்), 32  
 Nār̄raṁ (நாற்றம்), 56  
 Nār̄riṇṇam (நற்றிறம்), 7  
 Nār̄u (நறு), 56  
 Nār̄u (நாறு), 56  
 Nār̄umai (நறுமை), 56  
 Nār̄u-malar (நறு மலர்), 56  
 Nār̄u-ney (நறு நெய்), 56  
 Nāṭa, 64  
 Nellūr (நெல்லூர்), 34  
 Nēr̄ kōḍu (நேர் கோடு), 9  
 Ney (நெய்), 49, 49f.  
 Neydal (நெய்தல்), 33

Ney-mīn, 1f.  
 Niccam (நிச்சம்), 69f.  
 Nidi-man̄raṁ (நீதி மன்றம்), 63  
 Nikāṇ (நீகான்), 23  
 Nirai (நிறை), 8  
 Nir̄ttu (நீர்த்து), 27f.  
 Niruttal (நிறுத்தல்), 8  
 Nittam (நித்தம்), 69f.  
 Nīttu (நீத்து), 27f.  
 Nōmbu-kayir̄u (நோம்பு கயிறு),  
 16f.  
 Nul (நூல்), 4, 18

## O

Ōdai (ஓதை), 69  
 Ōlai-c-curuḷ (ஓலைச்சுருள்), 73  
 Oli (ஓலி), 69  
 Ōḷukkamuḍaimai  
 (ஓழுக்கமுடைமை), 42  
 Ōṇrār (ஒன்றார்), 10  
 Ōṇṇiār (ஒன்றினார்), 10  
 Orange, 23  
 Ōsai (ஓசை), 69

## P

Paccai-k-kal (பச்சைக்கல்), 19  
 Paccai mai (பச்சைமை), 48  
 paccanāvi (பச்சநாவி), 4f.  
 Paccēri (பச்சேரி), 55  
 Paccilai (பச்சிலை), 38  
 Paccai (பச்சை), 47  
 Paccai-k-kuḷanthai (பச்சைக்  
 குழந்தை), 47  
 Paccai-maṇ (பச்சைமண்), 47  
 Paccai-t-taṇṇiṇ (பச்சைத்  
 தண்ணீர்), 47  
 Paccai-veṭṭu-marundu (பச்சை  
 வெட்டு மருந்து), 47  
 Paccarisi (பச்சரிசி), 47  
 Paḍāhai (படாகை), 14f.  
 padāhai (பதாகை), 14f.  
 Paḍai (படை), 19



- Paḍai-k-kalam (படைக்கலம்), 19  
 Paḍaiṭṭu (படைப்பு), 68f.  
 Paḍai-vīraṇ (படைவீரன்), 13f.  
 Padani (பதனி), 12f.  
 Padanīr (பதநீர்), 12f.  
 Padavurai (பதவுரை), 46  
 Pāḍi (பாடி), 34  
 Pādi (பாதி), 70  
 Paḍu (படு), 12f., 19, 70  
 Paḍukkai (படுக்கை), 70  
 Paḍuttal (படுத்தல்), 70  
 Pāhaṇēri (பாகனேரி), 12f.  
 Pahu (பகு), 70  
 Pahudi (பகுதி), 70  
 Pākkam (பாக்கம்), 34  
 Pāi, 29f.  
 Pala-kaṇi (பலகணி), 29  
 Paḷakkam (பழக்கம்), 68  
 Paḷaṇi (பழனி), 54  
 Pāḷaṇiyāṇḍi, 54  
 Paḷaṇkaṇ (பழங்கண்), 7f.  
 Paḷlas, 55  
 Pallava king, 32  
 Paḷli (பள்ளி), 24, 25  
 Paḷli-k-kūḍam (பள்ளிக்கூடம்), 24  
 Paḷli-vāsal (பள்ளி வாசல்), 25  
 Palmer, 29  
 Paṇ (பண்), 66  
 Paṇa, 66f.  
 Paṇam (பணம்), 66  
 Pāṇam (பாணம்), 72  
 Pancha Pāṇḍavar Malai (பஞ்ச பாண்டவர் மலை), 32f.  
 Paṇḍam (பண்டம்), 44, 45  
 Paṇḍamārru (பண்டமாற்று), 44, 47  
 Paṇḍa-sālai (பண்டசாலை), 44  
 Pāṇḍava hills, 32  
 Pāṇḍavas, 32  
 Paṇḍi (பண்டி), 4f., 44, 45  
 Pāṇḍya, 38  
 Pāṇḍya king, 7, 20, 21  
 Pāṇḍiyaṇ (பாண்டியன்), 35  
 Pāṇḍyas, 26  
 Pāñjālī, 32  
 Pañja-pāṇḍavas, 32  
 Pañju (பஞ்சு), 15f.  
 Paṇṇu (பன்னு), 67  
 Paṇri (பன்றி), 39f.  
 Pāppāṇkuḷam (பாப்பாங்குளம்), 3  
 Pāppā-p-pāṭṭu (பாப்பாப்பாட்டு), 57  
 Pāppu (பாப்பு), 57  
 Paradēsi (பரதேசி), 59, 60  
 Paṛai (பறை), 67  
 Paṛaiccēri (பறைச்சேரி), 55  
 Paṛayas, 55  
 Par excellence, 37, 57  
 Pari (பரி), 22  
 Parimēlaḷahar, 59  
 Parimēlaḷakar (பரிமேலழகர்), 20f., 58f., 59f., 68f.  
 Paripāḍaḷ (பரிபாடல்), 28  
 Paṛ-poḍi (பற்பொடி), 55  
 Pārppu (பார்ப்பு), 57  
 Pasumai (பசுமை), 47  
 Pātamalar (பாதமலர்), 38  
 Paṭcēri (பட்சேரி), 55  
 Pater-familias, 27  
 Paṭṭaṇam Poḍi (பட்டணம்பொடி), 45  
 Paṭṭiṇappākkam (பட்டினப் பாக்கம்), 34  
 Paṭṭiṇat-t-aḍi-kaḷ (பட்டினத் தடிகள்), 25  
 Pāvai-maṇṇam (பாவை மன்றம்), 63f.  
 Pāvi (பாவி), 54  
 Pāymā (பாய்மா), 39  
 Peḷ (பெள்), 5  
 Peṇ (பெண்), 56, 57  
 Peṇ-cāti (பெண்சாதி), 41  
 Peṇḍāṭṭi (பெண்டாட்டி), 52  
 Peṇmai (பெண்மை), 5  
 Peṇ-makkaḷ, 41  
 Peṇṇā (பெண்ணு), 56

- Peṇ-piḷai-p-piḷai (பெண் பிள்ளைப் பிள்ளை), 56  
 Peṇ-piḷai (பெண்பிள்ளை), 56  
 Pēraṇ (பேரன்), 27  
 Pēra-p-piḷai (பேரப்பிள்ளை), 57  
 Pērāsai (பேராசை), 71  
 Pēravā (பேரவா), 71  
 Periyapurāṇam (பெரியபுராணம்), 63  
 Perūr (பெற்றோர்), 43  
 Persian, 22, 23  
 Pērtti (பேர்த்தி), 27  
 Pērttu (பேர்த்து), 27f.  
 Peru (பெறு), 43  
 Pēru (பேறு), 43  
 Pēru-kālam (பேறு காலம்), 43  
 Perumā (பெருமா), 39f.  
 Perumbuḷi (பெரும்புள்ளி), 47  
 Peruṅkuḷam (பெருங்குளம்), 3, 12f.  
 Pērūr (பேரூர்), 34  
 Pētti (பேத்தி), 27f.  
 Pētti-p-peṇ (பேத்திப்பெண்), 57  
 Peṭṭi (பெட்டி), 48f.  
 Pēttu (பேத்து), 27f.  
 Piḷai (பிள்ளை), 56, 57  
 Piḷaiyā (பிள்ளையா), 56  
 Piṇa nārṇam (பிணநாற்றம்), 56  
 Pittalai-c-cembu (பித்தளைச் செம்பு), 48  
 Piṭṭu-vāṇiṇaṇ (பிட்டுவாணிகள்), 40  
 Pleonasm, 75  
 Poḍi (பொடி), 45  
 Podu-jāṇa-ṇiyan (பொதுஜன ஊழியன்), 55  
 Pōkku-c-col (போக்குச்சொல்), 53f.  
 Pokkuḷam (பொக்குளம்), 74  
 Poḷippurai (பொழிப்புரை), 46  
 Pon (பொன்), 37  
 Pōṇāṇ (போனான்), 31  
 Poṇḡal (பொங்கல்), 64  
 Pōṇḡi (பொன்னி), 20  
 Portuguese, 23, 29  
 Poruḷuḍaimai (பொருளுடைமை), 42  
 Pothiya hill, 36  
 Pothiyam (பொதியம்), 36  
 Pothiyil (பொதியில்), 36  
 poṭṭi (பொட்டி), 48f.  
 Poyhai (பொய்கை), 12  
 Praśṭhapadā, 75  
 Prothesis, 74  
 Pū (பூ), 5f, 38  
 Pūccāṇḍi (பூச்சாண்டி), 54  
 Pūcci (பூச்சி), 54f.  
 Puda (புத), 14  
 Pudai (புதை), 14  
 Puḍaivai, (புடைவை), 14  
 Pudaiyiruḷ (புதையிருள்), 14  
 Pudappu (புதப்பு), 14  
 Pudavai (புதவை), 14  
 Puduccēri (புதுச்சேரி), 55  
 Pudu-k-kuḷam (புதுக்குளம்), 3  
 Puhai (புகல்), 53  
 Puhaiḍam (புகலிடம்), 53  
 Puhaiūr (புகலூர்), 53  
 Puhai vārtai (புகல் வார்த்தை), 53  
 Puhār (புகார்), 29, 63  
 Puhu (புகு), 53  
 Pulāl nārṇam (புலால் நாற்றம்), 56  
 Puli (புலி), 39f.  
 Pullār (புல்லார்), 10  
 Puḷḷi (புள்ளி), 47  
 Pulliṇār (புல்லினார்), 10  
 Puḷḷi-vivaram (புள்ளிவிவரம்), 47  
 Puḷukkarisi (புழுக்கரிசி), 47  
 Pūṇ (பூண்), 16, 18  
 Puṇaṇḍurai (புனைந்துரை), 46  
 Pūṇḡoḍi (பூங்கொடி), 13  
 Pūṇḡombu (பூங்கொம்பு), 13  
 Puṇ-kaṇ (புன்கண்), 7  
 Pūppu (பூப்பு), 5  
 Pura-c-camayam (புறச்சமயம்), 10

Purai min (புரைமீன்), 1  
 purā itaḷ (புறஇதழ்), 10  
 Puṛa-k-kāḷ (புறக்காழ்), 10  
 Puṛa-k-kaṇittal (புறக்கணித்தல்),  
 8  
 Puṛam (புறம்), 9, 10, 11, 53  
 Puṛam-tūymai (புறம் தூய்மை),  
 11  
 Puṛaṅgāṭṭal (புறங்காட்டல்), 11  
 Puṛaṅgūral (புறங்கூறல்), 53  
 Puṛappaḍutal (புறப்படுதல்), 10  
 Puṛappahi (புறப்பகை), 10  
 Puṛapporuḷ (புறப்பொருள்), 10  
 Puṛattan (புறத்தான்), 10  
 Pūraṭṭādi (பூரட்டாதி), 75  
 Puraṭṭāsi (புரட்டாசி), 75  
 Puṛattiyān (புறத்தியான்), 10f.  
 Puṛa-vāsal (புறவாசல்), 61  
 Puravurai (புறவுரை), 46  
 Purugu, 31  
 Puṭakoṭa (புடகொட), 14  
 Puṭava (புடவ), 14  
 Puṭavai (புடவை), 14  
 Puṭava koṭa (புடவ கொட), 14  
 Pūvai (பூவை), 5

## R

Rāja, 74  
 Rakta, 74  
 Rāmā, 2f., 28  
 Rāsaṇ (ராசன்), 74  
 Restriction, 36  
 Rattam (ரத்தம்), 74  
 Raut, 41  
 Rāvaṇa, 33  
 Rāvuttar (ராவுத்தர்), 41  
 Rāyaṇ (ராயன்), 74  
 Rayil-vaṇḍi (ரயில் வண்டி), 45  
 Roman, 9f.  
 Russia, 17

## S

Sabai (சபை), 63f.

Śaḍ-āraṇya, 34  
 Saivism, 33  
 Saivite Saints, 32  
 Saman (சமன்), 8  
 Sandi (சந்தி), 70  
 Śaṅgam, 26  
 Saṅgha, 26  
 Sanskrit, 23  
 Sarkkār ūliyam (சர்க்கார்  
 ஊழியம்), 55  
 Satan, 66  
 Savuriyār kōyil paḷḷi (சவுரியார்  
 கோயில் பள்ளி), 25f.  
 Semantics, 36  
 Semasiology, 36  
 Sēva, 42  
 Singhalese, 17  
 Sirāvaṇam (சிராவணம்), 75.  
 Sītā, 14, 71  
 'Snare of Satan', 66  
 Śramaṇa (Jaina), 25  
 Śrāvaṇa, 75  
 Sthala, 71  
 Sūṇiyam (சூனியம்), 75  
 Sundarar (சந்தரர்), 73f.  
 Sunna, 75  
 Sunṇam, (சுன்னம்), 75  
 Sūnya, 75

## T

Tā (தா), 67, 68  
 Taḍai (தடை), 15, 75f.  
 Taḍaiyam (தடையம்), 15  
 Taḍam (தடம்), 12f.  
 Taḍayam (தடயம்), 18  
 Taḍu (தடு), 75  
 Tagore, 58, 59, 59f.  
 Taila, 71  
 Tailam (தைலம்), 1  
 Tākkōl (தாக்கோல்), 29  
 Tāḷ (தாழ்), 29.  
 Taḷai (தழை), 13.

- Talai-c-cēri (தலைச் சேரி), 55  
 Talaittal (தழைத்தல்), 13  
 Talai-vāsal (தலை வாசல்), 61  
 Talam (தலம்), 71  
 Tāli (தாலி), 17, 18, 44  
 Tāl-k-kōl (தாழ்க் கோல்), 19, 29  
 Tālppāl (தாழ்ப்பார்), 29  
 Tālvaḍam (தாழ்வடம்), 30f.  
 Tālvilai (தாழ் விலை), 30  
 Tam (தம்), 27  
 Tamaiyan (தமையன்), 27  
 Tāmbraḥaraṇi, 20  
 Tamiḷa-c-cēri (தமிழ்ச் சேரி), 55f.  
 Tamil Sangham, 26  
 Taṇ (தண்), 40  
 Tāṇai-t-talaivan (தாளைத் தலைவன்), 13f.  
 Taṇḍai (தண்டை), 75f.  
 Taṇḍu (தண்டு), 75  
 Taṅga-c-cembu (தங்கச் செம்பு), 48  
 Taṇṇi (தண்ணி), 12f.  
 Taṇṇīr (தண்ணீர்), 12f.  
 Tāppāl (தாப்பார்), 29  
 Taruhai (தருகை), 67  
 Tarukan (தருகண்), 7  
 Taruman (தருமன்), 32  
 Tāvaḍam (தாவடம்), 30f.  
 Tāvaḍamu, 30f.  
 Tāvaḷai, (தாவளை), 30  
 Tāvalai (தாவலை), 30  
 Tāvaḷai āccu (தாவளை ஆச்சு), 30  
 Tāvilai (தாவிலை), 30f.  
 Tcutta, 73f.  
 Telingana, 31  
 Ten (தென்), 35  
 Tēṇḍāy eṇṇēi (தேங்காய் எண்ணெய்), 49  
 Tenkāl (தென்கால்), 35f.  
 Tēṇṇam-pillai (தென்னம்பிள்ளை), 56  
 Tēṇṇan (தென்னன்), 35  
 Tēṇṇar, 35  
 Tenral (தென்றல்), 35  
 Tenri (தென்றி), 35f.  
 Terku (தெற்கு), 34  
 Tēvaḍiyāl (தேவடியார்), 50, 51  
 Tēvaḍiyāl mahān (தேவடியார் மகன்), 51  
 Tēvai-illai (தேவை இல்லை), 30  
 Tēvalai (தேவலை), 30  
 Tēvarām (தேவாரம்), 46  
 Thiruvalluvar, (திருவள்ளுவர்), 50  
 Tila, 71  
 Tīmai (திமை), 6, 7  
 Tīn (தின்), 70  
 Tīni (தினி), 70, 71  
 Tīṇṇai (திண்ணை), 24  
 Tīṇṇai-p-paḷli-k-kūḍam (திண்ணைப்பள்ளிக்கூடம்), 24  
 Tinnevely, 30f., 55, 61f.  
 Tīravukōl (திறவு கோல்), 29  
 Tiri (திரி), 33  
 Tirisir (திரிசிர), 33  
 Tirisirapuram (திரிசிரபுரம்), 33  
 Tiru (திரு), 3, 32, 33  
 Tirucci (திருச்சி), 33  
 Tiru-c-cirāppaḷli (திருச்சிராப் பள்ளி), 32, 33  
 Tiruchendūr (திருச்செந்தூர்), 54  
 Tirukkuraḷ (திருக்குறள்), 25, 43, 71  
 Tiruṇḍasampandar (திருஞான சம்பந்தர்), 3f., 32., 64f.  
 Tirunāvukkarasar (திருநாவுக்கரசர்), 3f., 31f., 32f., 45f.  
 Tirupathi Hill, 34  
 Tirupparaṅgunṇam, (திருப்பரங்குன்றம்), 28  
 Tiruvaḍi aḍainḍān (திருவடி அடைந்தான்), 31  
 Tiruvallikkēṇi (திருவல்லிக் கேணி), 3  
 Tiruvalluvar (திருவள்ளுவர்), 13, 43, 58, 60, 65  
 Tiruvārūr (திருவாரூர்), 34

Tiruveṇ-kāṭṭu-aḍikaḷ (திருவெண்  
காட்டு அடிகள்), 25  
Tittiram (தீத்திறம்), 7  
Ti-t-tirattār (தீத்திறத்தார்), 7  
Tittiri (தித்திரி), 69f.  
Ti-vēndan (திவேந்தன்), 7  
Tōhai (தோகை), 2  
Tolkāppiyam (தொல்காப்பியம்),  
11  
Toḷumbāṇ (தொழும்பன்), 30  
Toḷumbu (தொழும்பு), 30  
Tomban (தொம்பன்), 39  
Toṇḍaraḍippodī Ālwār (தொண்  
டரடிப் பொடி ஆழ்வார்), 2f.  
Tonṇūl (தொன்னூல்), 4  
Tōsai-k-kal (தோசைக்கல்), 62  
Transmigration, 26  
Travancore, 25f., 31  
Trench, 1, 54, 54f, 58  
Trichinopoly, 32  
Triplicane, 3  
Tukil (துகில்), 14, 15  
Tūkkal (தூக்கல்), 8  
Tūkku (தூக்கு), 8  
Tulākkōl (துலாக்கோல்), 8  
Tunbam (துன்பம்), 7f.  
Tūṇḍir-pon (தூண்டிற்பொன்), 37  
Tunḍiṇāṇ (துஞ்சினான்), 31  
Tuppu (துப்பு), 12  
Tuppu-nīr (துப்பு நீர்), 12  
Turkoman, 22  
Tūrṛal, 53  
Tūrṛu (தூற்று), 52  
Tūrṛutal (தூற்றுதல்), 13, 52, 53  
Tūru (தூறு), 53  
Tuy (துய்), 15f.  
Tuyil (துயில்), 14, 15  
Tuyili (துயிலி), 15

## U

Uḍaimai (உடைமை), 42, 43  
Ūdai-vāḍai (ஊதை வாடை), 76

Uḍaiyār (உடையார்), 42, 43  
Ūḍigamu, 15f.  
Uḷ (உள்), 6, 11  
Ūḷ (ஊழ்), 55  
Ūḷaivāḍai (ஊளை வாடை), 76  
Ūḷiga, 15f.  
Ūḷiyam (ஊழியம்), 15f. 55  
Ūḷam (உள்ளம்), 11  
Ūḷttai (ஊழ்த்தை), 33f.  
Ulūlu (உலூலு), 64  
Ūḷivṇai (ஊழ்வினை), 26  
Uṇ (உண்), 70  
Ūṇ (ஊண்), 70  
Uṇavu (உணவு), 70  
Ūṇḍi (உண்டி), 70  
Uṇkalam (உண்கலம்), 19  
Uṇmai (உண்மை), 6  
Ūr (ஊர்), 34, 48, 49  
Urai (உரை), 46, 47, 67  
Urai-naḍai (உரைநடை), 46  
Uṛaiyūr (உறையூர்), 34  
Ūrdal (ஊர்தல்), 48  
Ūrdi (ஊர்தி), 49  
Urdu, 41  
Ūrṛu (ஊற்று), 12  
Urukan (உறுகண்), 7  
Ūruṇi (ஊருணி), 12  
Urupu (உருபு), 73, 74  
Urivai (உரிவை), 14  
Uruvu (உருவு), 73  
Ūrvana (ஊர்வன), 49  
Ūttai (ஊத்தை), 30f.  
Uyir-eḷuttu (உயிர் எழுத்து), 5  
Uyir-mey (உயிர்மெய்), 5

## V

Vaccanāpi (வச்ச நாபி), 4f.  
Vaḍacēri (வடசேரி), 55  
Vāḍai (வாடை), 35  
Vaḍakku (வடக்கு), 34  
Vaḍamalai (வடமலை), 35  
Vaḍamīn (வடமீன்), 1

- Vaḍandai (வடந்தை), 35  
 Vādavūr-aḍi-kaḷ (வாதவூர் அடிகள்), 25  
 Vaḍuhaṇ (வடுகன்), 35  
 Vaḍuhu (வடுகு), 34  
 Vaikai (வைகை), 15f.  
 Vaishnava religion, 42  
 Vaiyai (வையை), 15f.  
 Vākili, 15f.  
 Valakkāḍal (வழக்காடல்), 21  
 Valakkam (வழக்கம்), 21, 68  
 Valakku (வழக்கு), 21, 22  
 Valakkurai-kātai (வழக்குரை காதை), 22  
 Valakkuraittal (வழக்குரைத்தல்), 21  
 Valakku-vicāraṇai (வழக்கு விசாரணை), 22  
 Vāḷātavaḷ (வாழாதவன்), 30  
 Vāḷavaṇ (வளவன்), 20  
 Vāḷkkai-p-paṭṭavaḷ (வாழ்க்கைப் பட்டவன்), 30  
 Valli (வல்லி), 5  
 Vāḷḷi (வள்ளி), 5  
 Vāḷtturai (வாழ்த்துரை), 46  
 Vāḷ-ulavaṇ (வாள் உழவன்), 13  
 Vāḷvarasi (வாழ்வரசி), 30  
 Vāḷ-vīraṇ (வாள்வீரன்), 13f.  
 Vāḷvu (வாழ்வு), 30  
 Vāṇam (வாணம்), 72  
 Vāṇa-māri-k-kuḷam (வானமாரிக் குளம்), 12  
 Vāṇa-ūr̥di (வான ஊர்தி), 49  
 Vāṇa-vēḍikkai (வாணவேடிக்கை), 72  
 Vaṇḍi (வண்டி), 4f. 44, 45  
 Vāṇihaṇ (வாணிகள்), 40  
 Vāṇiyaṇ (வாணியன்), 40, 41  
 Vāṇiyambādi (வாணியம்பாடி), 34  
 Vaṇkaṇ (வன்கண்), 7f.  
 Vāṇmīṇ (வான்மீன்), 1  
 Vaṇṇa, 75  
 Vaṇṇam (வண்ணம்), 75  
 Vāṇūr-madiyam (வானூர் மதியம்), 49  
 Varam-tarudal (வரம் தருதல்), 68  
 Variation, 36, 59  
 Varṇa, 75  
 Varuṇam (வருணம்), 75  
 Vāsal, (வாசல்), 61  
 Vāsal Māṇṇam (வாசல் மாற்றம்), 61  
 Vāsaṇ-paḍi (வாசற்படி), 61  
 Vāvi (வாவி), 12f.  
 Vāy (வாய்), 6, 61  
 Vayadu (வயது), 69f.  
 Vāyal (வாயல்), 61  
 Vayamā (வயமா), 39f.  
 Vayasu (வயசு), 69f.  
 Vāyil (வாயில்), 15f., 61  
 Vāymai (வாய்மை), 6  
 Vēḍaṇ (வேடன்), 73  
 Vēhu (வேகு), 65  
 Vēḷ (வேள்), 40, 72  
 Vēḷāḷaṇ (வேளாளன்), 40  
 Vēḷāṇmai (வேளாண்மை), 14  
 Vēḷicceṇṇai (வேளிச்செண்ணை), 49f.  
 Vēḷḷāḷar (வேள்ளாளர்), 40f.  
 Vēḷḷāḷas, 44f., 57  
 Vellam (வெல்லம்), 62  
 Vēḷḷi (வெள்ளி), 37f.  
 Velli-c-cembu (வெள்ளிச் செம்பு), 48  
 Vellumā (வெல்லுமா), 39f.  
 Vēḷvi (வேள்வி), 72, 73  
 Vemmai (வெம்மை), 65  
 Veṇboṇ (வெண்பொன்), 37  
 Vēndaṇ (வேந்தன்), 65  
 Vendreys, 9, 67, 67f.  
 Vēndu (வேந்து), 65  
 Venni (வெந்தி), 12f.  
 Vennīr (வெந்தீர்), 12f.  
 Veṇṭāmarai (வெண்தாமரை), 37

Verṛilai (வெற்றிலை), 38  
 Verṛilai-c-curuḷ (வெற்றிலைச்  
 சுருள்), 73  
 Verṛumai (வேற்றுமை), 74f.  
 Verṛumai urupu (வேற்றுமை  
 உருபு), 74  
 Verumbuḷḷi (வெறும்புள்ளி), 47  
 Verukkai (வெறுக்கை), 66  
 Vēṭkai (வேட்கை), 72, 73  
 Vēṭko (வேட்கோ), 40f.  
 Vēṭṭai (வேட்டை), 72, 73  
 Vēṭruvaṇ (வேட்டுவன்), 73  
 Veyil (வெயில்), 65  
 Viccu (விச்சு), 69f.  
 Vidyāsālai (வித்தியாசாலை), 72  
 Viḷaivu (விளைவு), 13  
 Viḷaiyuḷ (விளையுள்), 13  
 Viḷakkeṇṇēi (விளக்கெண்ணெய்),  
 49  
 Viḷambu (விளம்பு), 67  
 Vil-ēr-ulavar (வில் ஏருழவர்), 13  
 Villavaṇ (வில்லவன்), 20  
 Vil-vaṇḍi (வில்வண்டி), 44  
 Viṇai (வினை), 25, 26  
 Viṇai-c-col (வினைச்சொல்), 25  
 Viṇai-t-tiṭṭam (வினைத்திட்டம்), 25  
 Viṇai-t-tūymai (வினைத்தூய்மை),  
 25  
 Vinmiṇ (விண்மீன்), 1  
 Virundiṇar (விருந்தினர்), 59

Virundu (விருந்து), 59  
 Visiri (விசிறி), 74  
 Viṣṇu, 16  
 Vittahaṇ (வித்தகன்), 72  
 Vittai (வித்தை), 72  
 Vittaikkāraṇ (வித்தைக்காரன்), 72  
 Vittu (வித்து), 69f.  
 Viyam (வியம்), 69  
 Viyaṅḡōl (வியங்கோள்), 69  
 Viyaṅḡōl viṇai (வியங்கோள்  
 வினை), 69  
 Vyāsarpaḍi (வியாசர்பாடி),

## W

Western Ghats, 32, 36, 36f.

## Y

Yā (யா), 73  
 Yākkai (யாக்கை), 73  
 Yāṇai (யாளை), 39f.  
 Yāppu (யாப்பு), 73  
 Yavaṇa-c-cēri (யவணச்சேரி), 55f.

## Z

Zin, 22

PART - II

TAMIL LITERARY AND COLLOQUIAL



# Tamil - Literary and Colloquial

## Introduction

The earliest Tamil literature discloses a high degree of intellectual development which could not have been attained without centuries of cultural endeavour. The Tamil language received in an unstinted measure the support of the ancient royalty and the aristocracy of South India. A considerable number of crowned kings and princes of the royal family were themselves poets and men of letters of no mean order and the poems composed by them afford ample evidence of their enthusiasm and erudition.<sup>1</sup> The Pandya kings in particular have earned the eternal gratitude of the Tamil nation by the foundation of a Tamil Academy (*Saṅgam*) in their capital city which attracted eminent poets and scholars from all parts of the Tamil country.<sup>2</sup> Although the *Saṅgam* does not appear to have been expressly charged with the duty of prescribing the canons of correct usage, the standard of literary propriety set by the galaxy of scholars who constituted the Academy naturally commanded the respectful attention of the country. The high esteem in which the Academy was held in those days is reflected in the eagerness with which its approbation was sought by poets and scholars for their literary productions. The immortal legends associated with *Nakkīrar* and *Cittalai-c-Cāttaṇār* bear testimony to the anxious care with which the Academy scrutinised the treatises submitted for favour of its opinion or approval.<sup>3</sup> A treatise commended by them was well received by the country and a work condemned by them was consigned to oblivion. The language which commanded the acceptance of the Academy came in due course to be regarded as "the standard language" (*Centamiḷ*). It is probable that this language was mainly based on the dialect of Tamil that was then prevalent in the Pandya

1. The kings and princes whose poems are included in *Puṇanāṇṟu* are referred to in the notes entitled '*Pāḍiṇṟ varalāṟu*' in *Puṇanāṇṟu* published by Dr. V. Swaminatha Iyer.

2. *Iṟaiyaṇṟagapporuḷurai*, p. 4.

See also '*Saṅga-t-tamiḷum piṟkāla-t-tamiḷum*' pp. 5-21.

3. *Tiruvīḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam*, Paḍalam, 52, *Tiruvāḷḷuvamālai*, 11.

country. A distinction came to be drawn in course of time between the territory where the standard language prevailed (*Centamiḷ Nāḍu*) and the country where the dialects were spoken (*Koḍuntamiḷ Nāḍu*).<sup>4</sup> Despite differences of opinion among the commentators regarding the territorial limits of the *Centamiḷ* country, authoritative opinion has declared in unambiguous terms that the Pandya country was regarded as the *Centamiḷ Nāḍu*.<sup>5</sup> The celebrated poetess *Avvaiyār* who had gained an intimate personal knowledge of the Tamil country through her constant peregrinations has expressed her considered opinion that 'pure Tamil' was the special possession of the Pandya country.<sup>6</sup>

Natural barriers promoted the growth of dialects in South India. It is significant that most of the twelve countries compendiously described as *Koḍuntamiḷ Nāḍu* are separated from the Pandya country by sections of the eastern and western ghats.<sup>7</sup> The expansion and growth of the standard language inevitably diminished the importance of the dialects and eventually reduced them to a position of insignificance.

Dialectal words, however, have found their way into the vocabulary of the standard language either by virtue of their intrinsic worth or by the authority of the poets who pressed them into service. It would be almost impossible at this distance of time to discover these words in the ancient poems, had not the classical commentators called our attention to them. Even the great epics *Cilappatikāram* and *Cintāmaṇi* contain several dialectal terms. According to *Aḍiyārkkunallār*, the commentator of *Cilappatikāram*, *ciṟumi* (a young girl) is a dialect of *Kuḍanāḍu*, *pudai* (in the sense of cover) is a dialect of *Malaināḍu*, and so forth.<sup>8</sup> *Nacciṉārkkinīyar* in his commentary on *Cintāmaṇi* has disclosed the dialectal character of the second personal pronoun *nīm*, of

4. *Tolkāppiyam* Col. 400, com. ; *Naṇṇūl*, 273, Com. ; *Peruntokai*, 2107.

5. *Naṇṇūl*, 271, *sankaranamaccivāyar* com.

6. *Peruntokai*, 2099.

7. *Tamils* eighteen hundred years ago, p. 15.

8. *சிறுமியர்* — *சிறுபெண்கள்* : *குட நாட்டு வழக்கு*

*புதைத்தல்* — *போர்த்தல்* : *மலைநாட்டு வழக்கு*

*தெழித்தல்* — *பிரித்தல்* : *குட நாட்டு வழக்கு*

*பணித்து* — *பனிகொண்டு* ; *பனியென்பதொரு நோயுமுண்டு* : *குட நாட்டு வழக்கு*

*பணித்தல்* — *அருளிச் செய்தல்* : *திசைச் சொல்*

(*சிலப்பதிகாரம்*, *அடியார்க்கு நல்லாருரை*).

the pronominal genitive *nun*, the interjection *idā*, and so on.<sup>9</sup> Thus the accession of dialectal terms has enriched the vocabulary of the standard language.

It is incorrect to suppose that the standard language was lacking in elasticity and adaptability. Words from cognate and foreign languages have secured admission into the vocabulary of the standard language subject to the condition of their conforming to the phonetic system of the language. The unwanted sounds in the loan-words were eliminated; concurrent consonants were separated by anaptyctic vowels and prothetic vowels were affixed to the initial consonants to facilitate enunciation. The substitution of alien sounds in loan-words by Tamil sounds was based on the laws governing the production of the sounds concerned in the respective languages. In fact, loan-words were so thoroughly tamilised that they were not in frequently mistaken for indigenous words. The great commentator *Naccinārkkiniyar* maintained that the word *ulaku* was an indigenous word.<sup>10</sup> There are scores of words drawn from foreign languages, which have been so thoroughly assimilated that they are tacitly assumed to be Tamil words. For instance, *ulku* is used in *Tirukkuraḷ* in the sense of customs duties.<sup>11</sup> The Sanskrit *sulka* is current in a double form in Tamil. *Suṅgam* is the popular and nasalised form and *ulku* is the classical and uneuphonised form. The aversion of classical Tamil to the initial sibilant was perhaps responsible for its elimination and the change of the final 'a' into 'u' has completed the process of corruption. It may be difficult for one not acquainted with the phonetic laws and tendencies of the Dravidian languages to trace the Tamil *naṅguraṁ* (anchor) to the Persian *langar*, the Tamil *ēlam* (auction) to the Portuguese *leilão*; the Tamil *cāḱku* (gunny bag) to the Dutch *zak*; the Tamil *urumāl* (upper cloth) to the Urdu *rūmāl*; the Tamil *cīḱku* (disease) to the English *sick*, etc. Thus the standard language sought to preserve its individuality while allowing the fullest scope for the accession of alien words to enrich its vocabulary.

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9. நீம் — ஓர் திசைச் சொல்லுமாம் — சிந்தாமணி, 1932, உரை.

நுன் — திசைச் சொல், 324, உரை.

இதர — திசைச் சொல், 1232, உரை.

குளிர் தல் = தங்குதல் — திசைச் சொல், 1973, உரை.

ஒள்ளியன் = நல்லன் — திசைச் சொல், 741, உரை.

கரைதல் = கொண்டுபோதல் — திசைச்சொல், 63, உரை.

பாடி — மலை நாட்டார் வழக்கு, 927, உரை.

10. தொல். சொல், 58, நச்சினர்க்கினியர் உரை.

11. 'உறுபொருளும் உல்கு பொருளும்' — திருக்குறள், 756.

The insistence on a strict adherence to the laws relating to literary usage naturally widened the gulf between literary Tamil and colloquial Tamil. The differences between the two may be considered under the heads phonetic, grammatical and lexical.

## I. Phonetic

### Vowels

#### (a)

(1) 'a' of the initial syllable of indigenous words changes into 'i' if followed by 'ā'.<sup>12</sup>

கடா <i>kaḍā</i>	>	<i>kiḍā</i> கிடா
கனா <i>kaṇā</i>	>	<i>kiṇā</i> கினா
பலா <i>palā</i>	>	<i>pilā</i> பிலா
வரால் <i>varāl</i>	>	<i>virāl</i> விரால்
வளார் <i>vaḷār</i>	>	<i>viḷār</i> விளார்

(2) 'a' of the initial syllable especially of loan-words generally changes into 'e'.<sup>13</sup>

<i>gati</i> (Skt.) கதி <i>kadi</i>	>	<i>kedī</i> கெதி
<i>gaṅgā</i> (Skt.) கங்கை <i>kaṅgai</i>	>	<i>keṅgai</i> கெங்கை
<i>daṇḍa</i> (Skt.) தண்டம் <i>taṇḍam</i>	>	<i>teṇḍam</i> தெண்டம்
<i>bala</i> (Skt.) பலம் <i>palam</i>	>	<i>pelam</i> பெலம்
<i>jagat</i> (Skt.) <i>jaga</i> (Pkt.) சகம் <i>caḥam</i>	>	<i>cekam</i> செகம்
<i>bandhaka</i> (Skt.) பந்தகம் <i>pandakam</i>	>	<i>pendakam</i> பெந்தகம்

(3) Medial 'a' changes into 'i' if the succeeding syllable contains 'i'.

பதநீர் <i>padanīr</i>	>	<i>padinīr</i>	>	<i>padini</i> பதினி
பூசணி <i>pūcaṇi</i>	>	<i>puciṇi</i> பூசினி		

12. This change is found also in certain loan-words.

(Urdu)	<i>tarāzu</i>	தராசு	>	<i>tirāsu</i>	திராசு
(Skt.)	<i>karāṇi</i>	கராணி	>	<i>kirāṇi</i>	கிராணி
(Skt.)	<i>paṭākā</i>		>	<i>paṭākai</i>	படாகை
			>	<i>Piṭṭikai</i>	பிடாகை

13. In indigenous words also this change is rarely found.

கட்டு <i>kaṭṭu</i>	>	<i>keṭṭu</i> கெட்டு
சற்றே <i>caṭṭē</i>	>	<i>cettē</i> செத்தே
மண்ணை <i>maṇṇai</i>	>	<i>meṇṇai</i> மெண்ணை

கத்தரி *kattari* > *kattiri* கத்திரி  
 அழுகணி *aḷukaṇi* > *aḷukiṇi* அழுகிணி  
 தேவடியாள் *tēvaḍiyāḷ* > *tēviḍiyāḷ* தேவிடியாள்

(4) Medial 'a' sometimes changes into 'u', if the succeeding syllable contains 'u'.

பறம்பு *paṛambu* > *paṛumbu* பறும்பு  
 நலங்கு *nalangu* > *nalungu* நலுங்கு  
 அலங்கு *alangu* > *alungu* அலுங்கு  
 உலங்கு *ulangu* > *olangu* > *olungu* ஒலுங்கு

(ā)

(5) 'ā' in mono-syllabic words takes the enunciative vowel 'u'.

கா *kā* > *kāvu* காவு  
 மா *mā* > *māvu* மாவு  
 பா *pā* > *pāvu* பாவு  
 நா *nā* > *nāvu* நாவு  
 ('v' is a glide in these instances).

(6) Final 'ā' in dis-syllabic words is shortened when it takes the enunciative vowel 'u'.

பலா *palā* > *palavu* பலவு  
 நிலா *nilā* > *nilavu* நிலவு  
 புறா *puṛā* > *puṛavu* புறவு  
 கனா *kaṇā* > *kaṇavu* கனவு  
 ('v' is a glide in these instances).

(i)

(7) Initial 'i' generally changes into 'e', if it is not the demonstrative base and if it is followed by any vowel except 'i' or 'u'.<sup>14</sup>

இலை *ilai* > *elai* எலை  
 இடம் *iḍam* > *eḍam* எடம்

14. In 'ivan', 'itu' etc., where 'i' is the demonstrative base initial 'i' is retained. So also in 'illai', 'iccai', 'immi', 'irru', etc., where it is followed by a consonant. In 'iruṭṭu', 'iḍuppu', 'iluppu', etc., initial 'i' is retained because the following vowel is 'u'. So also in 'iḍippu', 'inippu', 'ilippu', 'ilivu', etc., where 'i' is followed by 'i', the initial 'i' is retained.

இழவு <i>iḻavu</i>	>	<i>eḻavu</i> எழவு
இரவல் <i>iraval</i>	>	<i>eraval</i> எரவல்
இனம் <i>iṇam</i>	>	<i>eṇam</i> எனம்
இளநீர் <i>iḷanīr</i>	>	<i>eḷanīr</i> எளநீர்

(8) 'i' of the initial syllable, generally changes into 'e' if it is followed by any vowel except 'i' or 'u'.

கிடை <i>kiḍai</i>	>	<i>keḍai</i> கெடை
சிறை <i>ciṟai</i>	>	<i>ceṟai</i> செறை
சிரங்கு <i>ciraṅgu</i>	>	<i>ceṟaṅgu</i> செரங்கு
கிழங்கு <i>kiḷaṅgu</i>	>	<i>keḷaṅgu</i> கெழங்கு
திரளை <i>tiraḷai</i>	>	<i>teraḷai</i> தெரளை
திரை <i>tirai</i>	>	<i>teraḷai</i> தெரை
பிரம்பு <i>pirambu</i>	>	<i>perambu</i> பெரம்பு
பிறை <i>piṟai</i>	>	<i>peṟai</i> பெறை
மிரட்டு <i>miraṭṭu</i>	>	<i>meraṭṭu</i> மெரட்டு
விதை <i>vidai</i>	>	<i>vedaḷai</i> வெதை
விரல் <i>virai</i>	>	<i>veraḷai</i> வெரல்

(9) Initial 'i' combined with a labial consonant sometimes changes into 'u' if followed by 'i' or 'u' or a cerebral consonant.<sup>1</sup>

பிடி <i>piḍi</i>	>	<i>puḍi</i> புடி
பிடுங்கு <i>piḍuṅgu</i>	>	<i>puḍuṅgu</i> புடுங்கு
பிழி <i>pili</i>	>	<i>puḷi</i> புழி
பிட்டு <i>piṭṭu</i>	>	<i>puṭṭu</i> புட்டு
பிண்ணுக்கு <i>piṇṇaḱḱu</i>	>	<i>puṇṇaḱḱu</i> புண்ணுக்கு
பிள்ளை <i>piḷḷai</i>	>	<i>puḷḷai</i> புள்ளை
மிட்டாய் <i>miṭṭāy</i>	>	<i>muṭṭāy</i> முட்டாய்
மிண்டன் <i>miṇḍan</i>	>	<i>muṇḍan</i> முண்டன்

(10) Initial 'i' combined with a labial consonant sometimes changes into 'o' if followed by 'a' or 'ai'.

பிடரி <i>piḍari</i>	>	<i>poḍari</i> பொடரி
பிழைப்பு <i>piḷaiṇṇu</i>	>	<i>poiḷaiṇṇu</i> பொழைப்பு

#### 15. Initial *i* changes into *u*.

பிழை <i>piḷai</i>	>	<i>puḷai</i> பூழை
பிடம் <i>piḍam</i>	>	<i>puḍam</i> பூடம்

பிளவை <i>piḷavai</i>	>	<i>poḷavai</i> பொளவை
பிணம் <i>piṇam</i>	>	<i>poṇam</i> பொணம்
பிணை <i>piṇai</i>	>	<i>poṇai</i> பொணை
மிளகு <i>miḷaku</i>	>	<i>moḷaku</i> மொளகு
மிதந்து <i>mitandu</i>	>	<i>motandu</i> மொதந்து

(11) Medial 'i' generally changes into 'a' or 'u'.<sup>16</sup>

கயிறு <i>kayirū</i>	>	<i>kayarū</i> கயறு
குடிக்கூலி <i>kuḍikkūli</i>	>	<i>kuḍakkūli</i> குடக்கூலி
பணிவிடை <i>paṇividaḥ</i>	>	<i>paṇivaḍai</i> பணிவடை
கட்டிடம் <i>kaṭṭiḍam</i>	>	<i>kaṭṭaḍam</i> கட்டடம்
வாயில் <i>vāyil</i>	>	<i>vāyal</i> > <i>vācal</i> வாசல்
வேனில் <i>vēṇil</i>	>	<i>vēṇal</i> வேனல்
தவில் <i>tavil</i>	>	<i>taval</i> தவல்
அரிவாள் <i>arivāḷ</i>	>	<i>aruvaḷ</i> அருவாள்
உரிமை <i>urimai</i>	>	<i>urumai</i> உருமை
அடிமை <i>aḍimai</i>	>	<i>aḍumai</i> அடுமை
கும்பிடு <i>kumbiḍu</i>	>	<i>kumbuḍu</i> * கும்புடு
முசுறு <i>muciṛu</i>	>	<i>mucuru</i> * முசுறு
முடிச்சு <i>muḍiccu</i>	>	<i>muḍuccu</i> * முடுச்சு
தெளிவு <i>teḷivu</i>	>	<i>teḷuvu</i> > <i>teḷu</i> தெளு
அரிசி <i>arici</i>	>	<i>aruci</i> அருசி
திரிகை <i>tirikai</i>	>	<i>tiruvai</i> திருவை

(12) Medial 'i' changes into 'u' if the succeeding syllable contains 'u'.

தவிடு <i>taviḍu</i>	>	<i>tavuḍu</i> தவுடு
செவிடு <i>ceviḍu</i>	>	<i>cevuḍu</i> செவுடு
கலிங்கு <i>kaliṅgu</i>	>	<i>kaluṅgu</i> கலுங்கு

16. கரிநாள் *karināḷ* > *karunāḷ* கருநாள்  
 குடித்தனம் *kuḍittanam* > *kuḍuttanam* குடுத்தனம்  
 கடிவாளம் *kaḍivāḷam* > *kaḍuvāḷam* கடுவாளம்  
 பொரிவிளங்காய் *porivilaṅḡai* > *poruvilaṅḡai* பொருவிளங்காய்  
 Final 'i' sometimes changes into 'u'.  
 மடி *maḍi* > *maḍu* (teat) மடு

\* In these instances the change of medial 'i' into 'u' might be due to the influence of 'u' in the succeeding syllable.

பெரிது *peridu* > *pericu* > *perucu* பெருசு  
 புதிது *pudidu* > *pudicu* > *puducu* புதுசு

(u)

(13) Initial 'u' generally changes into 'o' if it is not the demonstrative base and if it is followed by any vowel except 'i' or 'u'.

உடல் *uḍal* > *oḍal* ஒடல்  
 உதை *udai* > *odai* ஒதை  
 உளவு *uḷavu* > *oḷavu* ஒளவு  
 உறை *urai* > *orai* ஒறை  
 உலை *ulai* > *olai* ஒலை

(14) 'u' of the first syllable generally changes into 'o' if it is followed by any vowel except 'i' or 'u'.

குடை *kuḍai* > *koḍai* கொடை  
 குரங்கு *kuraṅgu* > *koṛaṅgu* கொரங்கு  
 சுரண்டு *curaṇḍu* > *coraṇḍu* சொரண்டு  
 துவரை *tuvarai* > *toṇarai* தொவரை  
 புதையல் *pudaiyal* > *poḍaiyal* பொதையல்  
 புகை *pukai* > *poḱai* பொகை  
 முழம் *muḷam* > *moḷam* மொழம்  
 நுரை *nurai* > *noṛai* நொரை

(15) The initial vowel of the inflectional base of the first and second singular personal pronouns is displaced when the dative case-sign is attached to it.

எனக்கு *eṇakku* > *ṇēkku* னேக்கு  
 உனக்கு *uṇakku* > *oṇakku* > *ṇōkku* னோக்கு

The euphonic displacement and amalgamation of vowels in these instances is perhaps due to the influence of Telugu.<sup>17</sup> Dr. Caldwell says "this displacement occurs (in Telugu) most commonly in words which consist of three short syllables beginning with a vowel; and

17. (Tamil) உரல் *ural* > *oral* > *oralu* > *rōlu* (Telugu)  
 (Tamil) உகிர் *ugir* > *ugiru* > *ogiru* > *gōru* (Telugu)  
 (Tamil) இலது *iladu* > *eladu* > *lēdu* (Telugu)



when it occurs we find that the second vowel has disappeared and that the first vowel has migrated from the beginning of the word to the second syllable and at the same time lengthened to compensate for the vowel that is lost."

(16) Initial 'u' combined with labial consonant sometimes changes into 'i'.<sup>10</sup>

புலி <i>puli</i>	>	<i>pili</i> பிலி
புரி <i>puri</i>	>	<i>piri</i> பிரி
புல்(லு) <i>pul(lu)</i>	>	<i>pil(lu)</i> பில்(லு)
புன்னை <i>punnai</i>	>	<i>pinnai</i> பின்னை
முந்திரி <i>mundiri</i>	>	<i>mindiri</i> மிந்திரி

(17) Medial 'u' changes into 'a'<sup>11</sup> or 'i'.

ஊருணி <i>ūruni</i>	>	<i>ūraṇi</i> ஊரணி
கழுநீர் <i>kaḷunir</i>	>	<i>kaḷanir</i> > <i>kaḷani</i> கழனி
பொறுக்கு <i>porukku</i>	>	<i>porakku</i> பொறக்கு
அறுப்பு <i>aṟuppu</i>	>	<i>aṟappu</i> அறப்பு
நெருஞ்சி <i>neruñji</i>	>	<i>neriñji</i> நெரிஞ்சி
தவசுப்பிள்ளை <i>tavacu-p-piḷḷai</i>	>	<i>tavaci-p-piḷḷai</i> தவசிப்பிள்ளை
அருநெல்லி <i>arunelli</i>	>	<i>arinelli</i> அரிநெல்லி
வெட்டுவேர் <i>veṭṭuvēr</i>	>	<i>veṭṭivēr</i> வெட்டிவேர்

(18) Final 'u' changes into 'i'.

மாஞ்சு <i>mañju</i>	>	<i>mañji</i> மாஞ்சி
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18. Initial *u* sometimes changes into *e*.

சுவர் <i>cuvār</i>	>	<i>cevar</i> செவர்
புரளி <i>purali</i>	>	<i>perali</i> பெரளி

19. This occurs in a large number of words.

இன்னும் <i>iṇṇum</i>	>	<i>iṇṇam</i> இன்னம்
அறுதரலி <i>aṟutāli</i>	>	<i>aṟatali</i> அறதலி
துப்புரவு <i>tuppuravu</i>	>	<i>tupṭaravu</i> துப்பரவு
சம்புடம் <i>camduḍam</i>	>	<i>cambadḍam</i>
(Eng.) pound	>	<i>pavaṇ</i> பவன்

*ū* > *a*

பூனூல் <i>pūṇūl</i>	>	<i>pūṇal</i> பூனல்
முக்கட்டு <i>mukkūṭṭu</i>	>	<i>mukkaṭṭu</i> முக்கட்டு
முக்கடல் <i>mukkūḍal</i>	>	<i>mukkaḍal</i> முக்கடல்

பஞ்சு <i>pañju</i>	>	<i>pañji</i> பஞ்சி
கழஞ்சு <i>kaḷañju</i>	>	<i>kaḷañji</i> கழஞ்சி
<i>bank</i> (Eng.)	>	<i>vaṅgi</i> வங்கி (In the speech of the <i>Nāṭṭukkōṭṭai Nāgarattār</i> ).

(19) Final 'u' preceded by a short vowel in a dis-syllabic word generally takes an enunciative vowel. ('v' in the following instances is a glide).

மடு <i>maḍu</i>	>	<i>māḍu-v-u</i> மடுவு
புழு <i>puḷu</i>	>	<i>puḷu-v-u</i> புழுவு
தெரு <i>teru</i>	>	<i>teru-v-u</i> தெருவு
கெடு <i>keḍu</i>	>	<i>keḍu-v-u</i> கெடுவு
பளு <i>paḷu</i>	>	<i>paḷu-v-u</i> பளுவு

(20) Final 'u' in the dative case-sign 'ku' changes into 'i' if the termination of the nominative to which it is attached is 'i', 'ai' or 'y'.

பள்ளிக்கு <i>paḷḷikkū</i>	>	<i>paḷḷikki</i> பள்ளிக்கி
கஞ்சிக்கு <i>kañjikkū</i>	>	<i>kañjikki</i> கஞ்சிக்கி
நானைக்கு <i>nāḷaikkū</i>	>	<i>nāḷaikki</i> நானைக்கி
வேலைக்கு <i>vēlaikkū</i>	>	<i>vēlaikki</i> வேலைக்கி
வாய்க்கு <i>vāyikkū</i>	>	<i>vāyikki</i> வாய்க்கி
நாய்க்கு <i>nāyikkū</i>	>	<i>nāyikki</i> நாய்க்கி

e<sup>20</sup>

(21) Initial 'e' sometimes changes into 'o' or 'i'.

மெழுகு <i>meḷugu</i>	>	<i>moḷugu</i> மொழுகு
செருகு <i>ceṟugu</i>	>	<i>coṟugu</i> சொருகு
மெல்ல <i>mella</i>	>	<i>meḷḷa</i> > <i>moḷḷa</i> மொள்ள
பெட்டை <i>peṭṭai</i>	>	<i>poṭṭai</i> பொட்டை
மென்னை <i>meṇṇai</i>	>	<i>monṇai</i> மொன்னை
<i>e</i>	>	<i>i</i>
செலவு <i>celavu</i>	>	<i>cilavu</i> சிலவு

20. ē changes into ē or ō.

சேவல் *cēval* > *cōval* சாவல்

மோளம் *mēḷam* > *mōḷam* மோளம்

செவப்பு *cevappu* > *civappu* சிவப்பு  
 தெவிட்டு *teviṭṭu* > *tekaṭṭu* > *likaṭṭu* திகட்டு  
 வெருட்டு *veruṭṭu* > *viruṭṭu* விரட்டு

(22) Medial 'e' changes into 'a'<sup>21</sup>.

நடுப்பெற *naḍu-p-pera* > *nadu-p-para* நடுப்பற  
 காலம்பெற *kālampera* > *kālambara* காலம்பற

(23) Initial 'ai' followed by a consonant changes into 'a'.

ஐந்து *aiṇdu* > *aiñju* > *añju* அஞ்சு  
 ஐம்பது *aiṁbadu* > *ambadu* அம்பது  
 மைத்துனன் *maittuṇaṇ* > *maccinṇaṇ* > *maccēṇ* மச்சான்  
 பைம்பொழில் *paimboḷil* > *pambuḷi* பம்புளி (Name of a village in the Tinnevely District).

(24) Medial 'ai' changes into 'a'.

வலையன் *valaiyaṇ* > *valayaṇ* வலயன்  
 உடைமை *uḍaimai* > *uḍamai* உடமை  
 கடைவாய் *kaḍaivāy* > *kaḍavāy* கடவாய்  
 வளைவு *vaḷaiṁvu* > *vaḷavu* வளவு  
 குதைச்சு *kudaiṁcu* > *kudaccu* குதச்சு  
 வாழைப்பழம் *vāḷai-p-pāḷam* > *vāḷa-p-pāḷam* வாழப்பழம்

•

(25) Initial 'o' sometimes changes into 'u' if followed by 'u' or 'ai'.

கொடு *koḍu* > *kuḍu* குடு  
 தொடை *toḍai* > *tuḍai* துடை  
 பொது *poḍu* > *pudu* புது (in *pudu niṇam*).  
 தொகை *tokai* > *tukai* துகை (in *aintukai*).

(b)

## CONSONANTS

1. Final consonants, except the labial nasal, in monosyllabic words receive the addition of an enunciative vowel which is attached

ē > a

21 . அடிச்சேரியான் *aḍicēṇiṇyāṇ* > *aḍicēṇiṇyāṇ* அடிச்சேரியான்

directly to the final consonant if the preceding vowel is long or to the reduplicated final if the preceding vowel is short.

காய் <i>kāy</i>	>	<i>kāyi</i>	காயி
பால் <i>pāl</i>	>	<i>pālu</i>	பாலு
தேள் <i>tēl</i>	>	<i>tēlu</i>	தேளு
கூழ் <i>kūl</i>	>	<i>kūlu</i>	கூழு
தேன் <i>tēn</i>	>	<i>tēnu</i>	தேனு
மோர் <i>mōr</i>	>	<i>mōru</i>	மோரு
நெய் <i>ney</i>	>	<i>neyyi</i>	நெய்யி
பல் <i>pal</i>	>	<i>pallu</i>	பல்லு
முள் <i>mu!</i>	>	<i>mu!lu</i>	முள்ளு
கண் <i>kaṇ</i>	>	<i>kaṇṇu</i>	கண்ணு

(2) If a medial nasal is followed by a surd with which it cannot coalesce it is supplanted by the nasal pertaining to the surd.<sup>22</sup>

வெண்கலம் <i>veṅkalam</i>	>	<i>veṅḡalam</i>	வெங்கலம்		
புன்கு <i>puṅku</i>	>	<i>puṅḡu</i>	புங்கு		
ஒன்பது <i>oṇṇadu</i>	>	<i>omṇadu</i>	ஒம்பது		
புன்செய் <i>puṇcey</i>	>	<i>puṅḡey</i>	>	<i>puṅḡai</i>	புஞ்சை
என்பது <i>eṇṇadu</i>	>	<i>emṇadu</i>	எம்பது		
நோன்பு <i>nōṇṇu</i>	>	<i>nōmṇu</i>	நோம்பு		

*k, ṅ*

(3) Medial vowel-consonant of the guttural class is generally eliminated and the quantity of the preceding vowel is increased if it is short.<sup>23</sup>

22. கோன்கள்மார் *kōṇ-ka!-mār* > *kōṅgamār* கோங்கமார்  
(the shepherd community of the south.)

கிண்கிணி *kiṇ-kiṇi* > *kiṅgiṇi* (anklet) கிங்கிணி

கண்காணம் *kaṇ-kāṇam* > *kaṅgāṇam* கங்காணம்

23. உகந்தான்பட்டி *ukantāṇṇaṭṭi* > *okantāṇṇaṭṭi* > *ōntāṇṇaṭṭi* ஒந்தான்பட்டி  
(a village in the Tinnevely Dt.)

அகமுடையான் *akamuḍaiyāṇ* > *āmuḍaiyāṇ* > *āmbaḍaiyāṇ*

முகரை *mukarai* > *mōrai* மோரை

மருமகன் *marumakaṇ* > *marumāṇ* மருமான்

பெருமகன் *perumakaṇ* > *perumāṇ* பெருமான்

தகப்பன் *takappaṇ* > *tokappaṇ* > *tōppaṇ* தோப்பன்

வடகம் *vaḍakam* > *vaḍām* வடாம்

ஆம்படையான்

துகள் <i>tukaḷ</i>	>	<i>tūḷ</i> தூள்
முகடு <i>mukaḍu</i>	>	<i>mokaḍu</i> > <i>mōḍu</i> மோடு
அகப்பை <i>akappai</i>	>	<i>āppai</i> ஆப்பை
நுகக்கால் <i>nuka-k-kāl</i>	>	<i>noka-k-kāl</i> > <i>nōkkāl</i> நோக்கால்
புகையிலை <i>pukai-y-ilai</i>	>	<i>pokai-y-ilai</i> > <i>pōyilai</i> போயிலை
பகுதி <i>pakudi</i>	>	<i>pādi</i> பாதி
தொகுப்பு <i>tokuppu</i>	>	<i>tōppu</i> தோப்பு
உகிர்ச்சுற்று <i>ukir-c-curru</i>	>	<i>ūr-c-curru</i> ஊர்ச்சுற்று
மிகுந்து <i>mikundu</i>	>	<i>mīndu</i> மீந்து
புகுந்து <i>pukundu</i>	>	<i>pūndu</i> பூந்து

(4) 'k' medial and final changes into 'v'.

பாகல் <i>pākal</i>	>	<i>pāval</i> பாவல்
மகள் <i>makaḷ</i>	>	<i>mavaḷ</i> மவள்
கூகை <i>kūkai</i>	>	<i>kūvai</i> கூவை
திரிகை <i>tirikai</i>	>	<i>tīruvai</i> திருவை
சுளகு <i>cuḷaku</i>	>	<i>cuḷavu</i> சுளவு

C

(5) The initial palatal is pronounced almost as the sibilant(s) by the educated classes.

(6) Medial 'ḷ' is sometimes eliminated.<sup>24</sup>

கொடுக்கி <i>koḍukki</i>	>	<i>kokki</i> (hook) கொக்கி
இடக்கர் <i>iḍakkar</i>	>	<i>eḍakkar</i> > <i>ekkar</i> எக்கர்
முடுக்கு <i>muḍukku</i>	>	<i>mukku</i> முக்கு
முடிந்து <i>muḍindu</i>	>	<i>muḍiñju</i> > <i>mūñju</i> முஞ்சு

(7) 'ḷ' preceded by its nasal is generally assimilated.

வேண்டும் <i>vēṇḍum</i>	>	<i>vēṇum</i> வேணும்
கொண்டு வந்து <i>koṇḍu vandu</i>	>	<i>koṇṇu vandu</i> > <i>koṇṇāndu</i> கொண்ணாந்து

24. CF. அடகு (Ta.) *aḍaku* > *āku* (Te.)

இடுக்கி (Ta.) *iḍukki* > *ikkuḷa* (K.), *ikkuḷi* (Tu.)

t, <sup>25</sup>n

- (8) 'tt' changes into 'cc' if preceded by 'i' or 'ai'.

மிதித்த mititta	>	miticca	மிதிச்ச
படித்த paḍitta	>	paḍicca	படிச்ச
கழித்த kaḷitta	>	kaḷicca	கழிச்ச
மன்னித்த manṇitta	>	manṇicca	மன்னிச்ச
மைத்துனன் maittunan	>	maiccinan	> maccināṇ மச்சினன்
அழைத்த aḷaitta	>	aḷaicca	அழைச்ச
அமைத்த amaitta	>	amaicca	அமைச்ச
வதைத்த vadaitta	>	vadaicca	வதைச்ச
அலைத்த alaitta	>	alaicca	அலைச்ச

- (9) Final 't' preceded by a short vowel changes into 'c'.

பெரிது	peritu	>	pericu	>	perucu	பெருசு
புதிது	putitu	>	puticu	>	putucu	புதுசு
சிறிது	ciṛitu	>	ciṛicu	>	ciṛucu	சிறுசு
முழுது	muḷutu	>	muḷucu			முழுசு
மெல்லியது	mellitu	>	mellicu			மெல்லிசு

- (10) Medial 'tt' changes sometimes into 'tṭ'.
- <sup>26</sup>

நகர்த்து nakarittu	>	nakaṭṭu	நகட்டு
தீவர்த்தி tīvarṭti	>	tīvaṭṭi	தீவட்டி
நந்தியாவர்த்தம் nandiyāvarttam	>	nandiyāvaiṭṭai	நந்தியாவட்டை

- (11) 'nd' changes into 'ñj' if preceded by 'i', 'ai' or 'y'.

இடிந்த iḍinda	>	iḍiñja	இடிஞ்ச
பிரிந்த pirinda	>	piriñja	பிரிஞ்ச

25. Medial t (d) sometimes changes into r or l

விதை vidai	>	virai	விரை
செதுக்கி cedukki	>	cerukki	செருக்கி
சதங்கை cadaṅgai	>	calaṅgai	சலங்கை
சிதம்பரம் cidambaram	>	cilambaram	சிலம்பரம்

26. Initial and medial 't' has changed in 'c' in the following instances :

தட்டகப்பை *taṭṭakappai* > *caṭṭakappai* சட்டகப்பை  
கொதுகு *koduku* > *kocuku* > *kocu* கொசு (mosquito).

நீந்த <i>nīnda</i>	>	<i>nīñja</i>	நீஞ்ச
ஐந்து <i>aiṇdu</i>	>	<i>aiñju</i>	> <i>añju</i> அஞ்ச
உலைந்த <i>ulaiṇda</i>	>	<i>ulaiñja</i>	> <i>ulañja</i> உலஞ்ச
காய்ந்த <i>kāyṇda</i>	>	<i>kāyñja</i>	> <i>kāñja</i> காஞ்ச
மேய்ந்த <i>mēyṇda</i>	>	<i>mēyñja</i>	> <i>mēñja</i> மேஞ்ச

*p, m*

(12) The initial, medial, and final labial especially of loan-words changes into 'v'.

<i>bāṇa</i> (Skt.) பாணம்	<i>pāṇam</i>	>	<i>vāṇam</i>	வாணம்
<i>bālya</i> (Skt.) பாலியம்	<i>pāliyam</i>	>	<i>vālipam</i>	வாலிபம்
<i>bilva</i> (Skt.)		>	<i>vilvam</i>	வில்வம்
<i>bhinda</i> (Skt.)		>	<i>veṇḍai</i>	வெண்டை

medial *p* > *v*

அபயம் *apayam* > *avayam* அவயம்  
(commonly used in the sense of loud cry).

<i>tapas</i> (Skt.) தபசு	<i>tapasū</i>	>	<i>tavasū</i>	தவசு
தபலை	<i>tapalai</i>	>	<i>tavalai</i>	தவலை
(Urdu) <i>zabād</i>		>	<i>cavvātu</i>	சவ்வாது
(Urdu) <i>tabl</i>		>	<i>tavil</i>	தவில்

final *p* > *v*

பாபி	<i>pāpi</i>	>	<i>pāvi</i>	பாவி
கபி	<i>kapi</i>	>	<i>kavi</i>	கவி

(13) 'm' changes into 'v'.

மீசை	<i>mīcai</i>	>	<i>vīcai</i>	வீசை
மருமம்	<i>marumam</i>	>	<i>varumam</i>	வருமம்
மசூரி	<i>masūrī</i> (Urdu)	>	<i>vasūrī</i>	வசூரி
தாமணி	<i>dāmaṇi</i>	>	<i>dāvaṇi</i>	தாவணி

*r* ||

(14) 'rr' changes into 'tt' generally and into 'ʃʃ' rarely.

ஊற்று	<i>ūrru</i>	>	<i>ūtṭu</i>	ஊத்து
ஆற்றார்	<i>aṛṛār</i>	>	<i>aṭṭār</i>	ஆத்தார்
மாற்று	<i>mārru</i>	>	<i>māttu</i>	மாத்து

*rr* > *!!*

கழற்று *kalarru* > *kalattū* கழட்டு  
 சுழற்று *cularru* > *culattū* சுழட்டு  
 பதற்றம் *patarram* > *patattam* பதட்டம்  
 ஊற்றத்தூர் *ūrrattūr* > *ūttattūr* ஊட்டத்தூர்

(15) '*nr*' changes into '*nn*' (which is sometimes changed into '*nn̄*')<sup>27</sup> generally and '*nt̄*' rarely. One of the two nasals is elided if the preceding vowel is long.<sup>28</sup>

ஒன்று *onru* > *onnu* > *on̄nu* ஒண்ணு  
 மூன்று *mūnru* > *mūnnu* > *mūn̄nu* > *mūnu* மூணு  
 ஊன்றி *ūnri* > *ūnni* > *ūn̄ni* > *ūni* ஊணி  
 கன்று *kanru* > *kannu* > *kan̄nu* கண்ணு  
 நன்றி *nanri* > *nanni* > *nan̄ni* நண்ணி  
 ஒன்றி *onri* > *on̄di* ஒண்டி  
 ஒன்று *onru* > *on̄du* ஒண்டு (Jaffna dialect)  
 ஏன்று *ēnru* > *ēn̄du* ஏண்டு  
 நான்று *nānru* > *nān̄du* நாண்டு

(16) The alveolar surd (*r*) is pronounced like the semi-vowel (*r̄*) when it is not duplicated and the alveolar nasal (*n*) is hardly distinguishable from the dental nasal (*n̄*) in the colloquial speech, especially of the south.

(c)

### SEMI-VOWELS

(17) Final liquids of polysyllabic words are elided.<sup>29</sup>

தண்ணீர் *taṇṇīr* > *taṇṇi* தண்ணி  
 பதநீர் *patanīr* > *patanī* > *patinī* பதிநி

27. The Change of '*n̄*' into '*n̄*' occurs in the following instances :

என்பி *eṇbi* > *eṇ̄bi* எண்̄பி  
 கன்னலமுது *kan̄ṇalamudu* > *kan̄ṇalamudu* > *kan̄ṇamudu* கண்ணமுது  
 கின்னரம் *kin̄ṇaram* > *kin̄ṇāram* > *kin̄ṇāram* கின்னாரம்

28. '*nr*' > '*nn̄*'

குன்றத்தூர் *kuṇ̄rattūr* > *kuṇ̄ṇattūr* குன்னத்தூர்  
 குன்றிமுத்து *kuṇ̄rimuttu* > *kuṇ̄ṇimuttu* குன்னிமுத்து  
 கன்றி *kan̄ri* > *kan̄ṇi* கன்னி



தேங்காய் *tēṅḡāi* > *tēṅḡā* தேங்கா  
எச்சில் *eccil* > *eccī* எச்சி  
தாழ்ப்பாள் *tāḷṭṭā!* > *tāḷṭṭā* தாப்பா <sup>29</sup>

(18) Medial liquids are elided if they are followed by surds.<sup>30</sup>

ஆய்ச்சி *āycci* > *ācci* ஆச்சி  
பேர்த்தி *pērtti* > *pētti* பேத்தி  
மேய்க்கி *mēykki* > *mēkki* மேக்கி  
பீர்க்கு *pīrkku* > *pīkku* பீக்கு  
கேழ்ப்பை *kēḷṭṭai* > *kēṭṭai* கேப்பை  
மெய்ச்சு *meycu* > *meccu* மெச்சு

(19) Initial 'yā' changes into 'ā'.

யாளை *yāṇai* > *āṇai* ஆளை  
யாண்டு *yāṇḍu* > *āṇḍu* ஆண்டு  
யார் *yār* > *ār* ஆர்

(20) Medial 'y' changes into 'c'.<sup>31</sup>

முயல் *muyal* > *mucal* முசல்  
குயவன் *kuyavaṇ* > *kucavaṇ* குசவன்  
உயிர் *yir* > *ucir* உசிர்  
கயம் *kayam* > *kacam* கசம்

(21) Medial 'y' preceded by a short vowel and not functioning as a glide is sometimes eliminated and the quantity of the preceding vowel is increased.

29. நாஞ்சில்நாடு *nāñjilnāḍu* > *nāñjināḍu* நாஞ்சிநாடு  
மொக்குள் *mokkuḷ* > *mokku* மொக்கு  
குண்டில் *kuṇḍil* > *kuṇḍu* குண்டு  
பரிசில் *paricil* > *paricu* பரிசு

30. பார்ப்பு *pārṭṭu* > *pāṭṭu* பாப்பு  
ஆர்த்தி *ārtti* > *ātti* ஆத்தி  
வர்த்தி *vartti* > *vatti* வத்தி  
மூர்க்கன் *mūrkkaṇ* > *mūkkaṇ* மூக்கன்  
(*Kombēri-mūkkaṇ*).  
அமர்க்களம் *amarkkaḷam* > *amakkaḷam* அமக்களம்

31. அயர்ந்து *ayarndu* > *acandu* அசந்து (cf. *acati*)  
புயல் *puyal* > *pucal* புசல்

பெயர் *peyar* > *pēr* பேர்  
 இயலும் *iyalum* > *eyalum* > *ēlum* ஏலும்  
 வியர்வை *viyarvai* > *veyarvai* > *vērvai* வேர்வை  
 பெயர்த்து *peyarttu* > *pērttu* > *pēttu* பேத்து  
 செய்தி *ceyhi* > *cēhi* சேதி

(22) Final ‘*y*’ in non-monosyllabic words is eliminated and the preceding vowel is changed into ‘*ai*’.

போனாய் *pōṇāy* > *pōṇai* போனை  
 வந்தாய் *vandāy* > *vandai* வந்தை  
 சிறுநாய் *ciṛṇāy* > *ciṛṇai* > *cilli*<sup>22</sup> சித்தி  
 எண்ணெய் *eṇṇey* > *eṇṇai* எண்ணை  
 வெண்ணெய் *veṇṇey* > *veṇṇai* வெண்ணை  
 மஞ்சனெய் *mañjaṇey* > *mañjaṇai* மஞ்சனை  
 குறுநொய் *kuṟu-noy* > *kuṟunai* > *kuṟunai* குறுனை  
 நஞ்செய் *nañcey* > *nañjey* > *nañjai* நஞ்சை  
 குடுவாய் *kuḍuvāy* > *kuḍuvai*<sup>23</sup> குடுவை

(23) Medial ‘*r*’ changes into ‘*l*’<sup>24</sup>.

கூரவை *kuruavi* > *kulavai* குலவை  
 இருப்பை *iruppai* > *iluppai* இலுப்பை

32. Final ‘*ai*’ sometimes changes into ‘*i*’.

புல்லனை *pullanai* > *pullāṇi* புல்லாணி

தலையனை *talaiyanai* > *talaiyāṇi* தலையாணி

பாம்பரனை *pāmbaranai* > *pāmbirāṇi* பாம்பிராணி

Probably ‘*koṟṟavay*’ (*Koṟṟa-v-āy*), Goddess of Victory, has become ‘*koṟṟavai*’.

In the literary usage, தொழுநோய் *tolunōy* has changed into *tolunai* (தொழுனை) — Jnānāmirtam, 19.

காக்கா *kākkā* > *kākkāy* > *kākkai* காக்கை

33. The original form of *Kuḍuvay* was probably *Kuṟuvāy* (narrow mouth). The change of ‘*r*’ into ‘*ṛ*’ may be noted in *kuṟumbi* > *kuḍumbi* (காதுக் குடும்பி)

34. ‘*r*’ changes into ‘*l*’ in loan-words also.

(Skt.) *ātura* > *ātula* > *ātulan* (Ta.) ஆதுலன

(Skt.) *āratti* > *ālatti* (Ta.) ஆலத்தி

(Fr.) *rōndu* > *lōndu* (Ta.) in the Tinnevely District.

(Hindi) *guzri* > *kucili* (Ta.) குசிலி

- குரைத்தல் *kuraittal* > *kulaittal* குலைத்தல்  
 திருவாரூர் *tiruvārūr* > *tiruvālūr* திருவாலூர்  
 துருக்கர் *turukkar* > *tulukkar* துலுக்கர்

(24) Medial 'r' is sometimes elided.<sup>35</sup>

- பொருக்கு *porukku* > *pokku* பொக்கு  
 உருண்டை *uruṇḍai* > *uṇḍai* உண்டை  
 பருப்பு *paruppu* > *pappu* பப்பு (in the nursery dialect).  
 அலர்மேல் *alarmēl* > *alamēl* அலமேல்  
 குளிர் தாமரை *kuḷir-tāmarai* > *kuḷi-tāmarai* குளிதாமரை

(25) 'l' changes into 'ḷ'.<sup>36</sup>

- கலை *kalai* > *kaḷai* களை (as in *mukakkaḷai*)  
 கூலம் *kūlam* > *kūḷam* கூளம் (as in *kuḷa-k-kaḍai-i*  
*teru* in Tinnevely).  
 ஏலா *elā* > *eḷā* ஏளா  
 முதலை *mutalai* > *mutaḷai* முதளை  
 மூலைக்கரைப்பட்டி *mūlaikkaraipṭṭi* > *mūḷikkaraipṭṭi* மூளிக்கரைப்பட்டி  
 (a village in the Tinnevely District).

35. The elimination of medial 'r' is common in the other Dravidian languages.

- (Ta.) *iruppai* > *ippa* (Te.), *ippe* (Ka.)  
 (Ta.) *urukku* > *ukku* (Te.), *ukku* (Ka.)  
 (Ta.) *paruppu* > *pappu* (Te.), *pappu* (Ka.)  
 (Ta.) *ceruppu* > *ceppu* (Te.)

36. தலம் *talam* > *taḷam* தளம்

- துல்லியம் *tulliyam* > *tulḷipam* துள்ளியம்  
 தீபாவளி *tīpāvali* > *tīpāvaḷi* தீபாவளி  
 Medial and final *i* changes into *r*  
 தாலாட்டு *tālāṭṭu* > *tārāṭṭu* தாராட்டு  
 (Eng.) *lantern, lāntal* > *rāntal* ராந்தல் (Tin.)  
 (Eng.) *hospital, āspital* > *āspatali* > *āspattari* ஆஸ்பத்தரி  
 முதலி *mūṭali* > *mūṭari* முதரி  
 தோலாத *tōlāṭa* > *tōrāṭa* தோராத

(26) Initial and medial 'v' changes into 'm'.<sup>37</sup>

வானம் <i>vāṇam</i>	>	<i>māṇam</i> மானம்
விழித்தல் <i>viḷittal</i>	>	<i>muḷittal</i> முழித்தல்
விழுங்கு <i>viḷuṅgu</i>	>	<i>muḷuṅgu</i> முழுங்கு
வேய்தல் <i>vēytal</i>	>	<i>mēytal</i> மேய்தல்
வடவர் <i>vaḍavar</i>	>	<i>vaḍamar</i> வடமர்
குவித்தல் <i>kuvittal</i>	>	<i>kumittal</i> குமித்தல்

(27) Medial and final 'v' changes into 'k'

பவழம் <i>paṇaḷam</i>	>	<i>pakaḷam</i> பகழம்
கழுவி <i>kaḷuvi</i>	>	<i>kaḷuki</i> கழுகி
நாவல் <i>nāval</i>	>	<i>nākal</i> நாகல் ( <i>nākaḥḥaḷam</i> )
சாவ <i>cāva</i>	>	<i>cāka</i> சாக
நோவ <i>nōva</i>	>	<i>nōka</i> நோக

(28) Medial 'v' preceded by a short vowel and not functioning as a glide is eliminated and the quantity of the preceding vowel is increased.

உவச்சன் <i>uvaccan</i>	>	<i>ovaccan</i> > <i>ōccan</i> ஓச்சன்
தவடை <i>tavaḍai</i>	>	<i>tāḍai</i> தாடை
செவப்பு <i>cevaḥḥu</i>	>	<i>cēḥḥu</i> சேப்பு
எவன் <i>eṇen</i>	>	<i>ēṇ</i> ஏன்

(29) 'l' is pronounced like 'ḷ' in the southern districts of the Tamil country and in Jaffna.

(30) 'l' is largely elided, with or without compensation.

குழந்தை <i>kuḷandai</i>	>	<i>koḷandai</i> > <i>kōndai</i> கோந்தை
தாழ்ப்பாள் <i>tāḷṭṭāḷ</i>	>	<i>tāṭṭāḷ</i> தாப்பாள்
போழ்து <i>pōḷḍu</i>	>	<i>pōḍu</i> போது
கூழ்ப்பதநீர் <i>kūḷṭṭadanīr</i>	>	<i>kūṭṭadanī</i> கூப்பதநி or கூப்பதநி

37. வானமாரிக்குளம் *vāṇamārikkūḷam* > *māṇmārikkūḷam* மாணமாரிக்குளம்

The change of v into b is common in the Dravidian languages.

(Ta.) வயல் *vayal* > *bayal* (Te. Ka. Tu.)

(Ta.) வரவு *varavu* > *baravu* (Ka.)

(Ta.) வயிறு *vayiru* > *basiru* (Ka.)

எழுந்திரு *eḷundiru* > *endiru* எந்திரு or ஏந்திரு  
 எழும்பு *eḷumbu* > *embu* எம்பு  
 தொழும்பன் *tōḷumban* > *tomban* தொம்பன்

(31) Intrusive 'r' occurs in certain words.

கோவை *kōvai* > *kōrvai* கோர்வை  
 சேவை *cēvai* > *cērvai* சேர்வை (as in *Garuḍa cērvai*).  
 தோட்டி *tōṭṭi* > *toraṭṭi* தோரட்டி  
 தேகம் *tēkam* > *tirēkam* திரேகம்  
 ஆலாபனம் *ālāpaṇam* > *ālāparaṇam* ஆலாபரணம்

(32) Intrusive 'ḷ' is found in a few words.

தேவை *tēvai* > *tēḷvai* தேள்வை (very common in Jaffna).  
 என்பது *eṇṭpadu* > *eṇṭḷadu* எண்ḷபளது (in the Tanjore Dt.).

(33) Intrusion of the labial consonant after its nasal is noticed in some words.

குடுமி *kuḍumi* > *kuḍumbi* குடும்பி  
 தாமிரம் *tāmiram* > *tāmbiram* தாம்பிரம்  
 ஆமூர் *āmūr* > *āmbūr* ஆம்பூர்  
 எழுமூர் *eḷumūr* > *eḷumbūr* எழும்பூர்  
 கோதுமை *kōdumai* > *kōdumbai* கோதும்பை  
 காமரா *kāmarā* > *kāmburā* காம்பரா (in the South Arcot Dt.).

(34) Euphonic nasalisation of surds is a common feature.

அடு *aḍu* > *aṇḍu* அண்டு  
 தடி *taḍi* > *taṇḍi* தண்டி  
 ஊசல் *ūcal* > *ūñjal* ஊஞ்சல்  
 பூசணம் *pūcaṇam* > *pūñjaṇam* பூஞ்சணம்  
 śunaka (Skt.) > *cūṇaku* > *cuṇaṅgaṇ* சுணங்கன்

(35) Euphonic assimilation of concurrent consonants.<sup>s 8</sup>

38. திருநயம் *tirunayam* > *tiṇṇiyam* (name of a village)-Life of Miṇṇāṭcisundaram Pillai, Vol. I, 18, see foot note by Dr. V. Swaminatha Iyer.

பட்சேரி *paṭṭēri* (*paṭ* + *cēri*) > *paccēri* பச்சேரி  
 மண்வெட்டி *maṇveṭṭi* > (*maṇ* + *veṭṭi*) > *mampaṭṭi* > *mammaṭṭi*  
 மம்மட்டி

வெட்கம் *veṭkam* > *vekkam* வெக்கம்  
 கள்வன் *kaḷvan* > *kaḷḷan* கள்ளன்  
 முள்வாங்கி *muḷvāṅgi* > *muḷḷāṅgi* முள்ளாங்கி  
 தென்பாங்கு *teṇṇāṅgu* > *tembāṅgu* > *temmāṅgu* தெம்மாங்கு  
 நன்மை தின்மை *naṇmai tiṇmai* > *nammai timmai* நம்மை திம்மை  
 செல்வம் *celvam* > *cellam* செல்லம்  
 சண்முகன் *caṇmukan* > *cammukan* சம்முகன்

(36) Dissimilation.

பட்டடை *paṭṭadai* > *paṭṭarai* பட்டரை  
 ஒட்டடை *oṭṭadai* > *oṭṭarai* ஒட்டரை  
 மார்வாரி *mārvārī* > *mārvāṭṭi* மார்வாடி  
 மண்ணுணி *maṇṇuṇi* > *maṇṇuḷi* மண்ணுளி  
 சாதர்வார் *cādarvār* > *cādalvār* சாதல்வார்

(37) Aphesis.

உலாத்து *ulāttu* > *lāttu* லாத்து  
 ஆலோசனை *ālōcaṇai* > *lōcaṇai* > *rōcaṇai* ரோசனை  
 இரண்டு *iraṇḍu* > *raṇḍu* > *reṇḍu* ரெண்டு

(38) Metathesis.

கொப்புளம் *koppuḷam* > *pokkaḷam* பொக்களம்  
 அபராதம் *aparātam* > *avatāram* அவதாரம்  
 குபார் *gubār* (Urdu) > *pukār* புகார்  
 பட்டாசு *paṭṭāsu* > *taṭṭāsu* டப்பாசு

(39) Haplology.

அவாவல் *avā-v-al* > *āval* ஆவல்  
 நுகக்கால் *nuka-k-kāl* > *noka-k-kāl* > *nōkkāl* நோக்கால்  
 ஆரோருட் *arro(w) root* > *āroṭṭu* ஆரொட்டு  
 பன்னுக்கு குழி *paṇṇāṅgu kuḷi* > *ṇāṇṇāṅguḷi* > *pallāṅguḷi*  
 பல்லாங்குழி

(40) Aversion to the initial aspirate in loan words.

*hundred* (Eng.) > *andar* அந்தர்

<i>hospital</i> (Eng.)	>	<i>āspattali</i>	>	<i>āspattari</i>	ஆஸ்பத்தரி
<i>hunḍi</i> (Urdu)	>	<i>uṇḍi</i>			உண்டி
<i>hukka</i> (Urdu)	>	<i>ukkā</i>			உக்கா
<i>halwa</i> (Urdu)	>	<i>alwā</i>			அல்வா
<i>huḍukka</i> (Skt.)	>	<i>uḍukku</i>			உடுக்கு (உடுக்கை)

## II. Grammatical.

### (a) Nouns

1. Appellative nouns are generally<sup>39</sup> formed in the literary language by the addition of the masculine and feminine formative suffixes<sup>40</sup> to abstract or neuter nouns. In the colloquial language the words *kāraṇ* and *kāri* are commonly employed as masculine and feminine terminations respectively of appellatives.<sup>41</sup>

	Lit.	Col.
Mas.	<i>vamban</i>	<i>vambu-k-kāraṇ</i> <sup>42</sup>
Fem.	<i>vambi</i>	<i>vambu-k-kāri</i>

39. *Kāraṇ* is occasionally employed as an appellative termination in the literary usage. The words *kañca-kāraṇ* (braziers), *tuṇṇakāraṇ* (tailors) occur in Cilappatikāram (Ch. V. 28, 32).

40. The suffixes *āḷaṇ* and *āḷi* are also used as singular terminations of appellative nouns in the literary language. In such cases the colloquial language employs the suffix *kāraṇ*.

Literary.	Colloquial.
<i>kāval-āḷaṇ</i> or <i>kāval-āḷi</i>	<i>kaval-k-kāraṇ</i>
<i>kolai-y-āḷaṇ</i> or <i>kolai-y-āḷi</i>	<i>kolai-kāraṇ</i> .

41. The word suffixes *kāraṇ* and *kāri* are sometimes attached in the colloquial language to the popular equivalents of literary terms.

Literary.	Colloquial.
Mas. <i>Celvan</i>	<i>Paṇa-k-kāraṇ</i>
Fem. <i>Celvi</i>	<i>Paṇa-k-kāri</i>
Mas. <i>Piṇi-y-aṇ</i> or <i>piṇi-y-āḷaṇ</i>	<i>Cikku-k-kāraṇ</i>
Mas. <i>Ciṇṇattaṇ</i>	<i>Kōṇa-k-kāraṇ</i>

*Kāri* is sometimes used as an epicene suffix, e. g., *pāva-k-kāri*.

42. The following revenue terms are in come use in the Tamil country.

<i>Viṇṇappa-k-kāraṇ</i> (P. T. L.)	<i>Paṇṇai-k-kāraṇ</i> (P. T. L.)
<i>maṇiya-k-kāraṇ</i> (P. T. L.)	<i>taṇḍal-k-kāraṇ</i> (P. T. L.)

(P. T. L.—Papers relating to the Tamil Language—by A. Robertson).

Mas.	<i>koḍiyaṇ</i>	<i>kodumai-k-kāraṇ</i>
Fem.	<i>koḍiyaḷ</i>	<i>koḍumai-k-kāri</i>
Mem.	<i>aḍiyāṇ</i>	<i>aḍimai-k-kāraṇ</i>
Fem.	<i>aḍiyāḷ</i>	<i>aḍimai-k-kāri</i> .

2. In the speech of the northern districts of the Tamil country, *kāraṇ* and *kāri* are commonly attached to nouns fitted with regular masculine and feminine terminations.

	Lit.	Col.
Mas.	<i>puruṣaṇ</i>	<i>puruṣaṇ-kāraṇ</i>
Fem.	<i>peṇḍāṭṭi</i>	<i>peṇḍāṭṭi-k-kāri</i>
Mas.	<i>aṇṇaṇ</i>	<i>aṇṇaṇ-kāraṇ</i>
Fem.	<i>attai</i>	<i>attai-k-kāri</i>

3. Abstract nouns of quality which are formed in the literary language by the addition of the suffix *mai* are commonly formed in the colloquial language by affixing the termination *taṇam*.<sup>43</sup>

Lit.	Col.
<i>kuḍi-mai</i>	<i>kuḍi-t-taṇam</i>
<i>maḍa-mai</i>	<i>mada-t-taṇam</i>
<i>piḷḷai-mai</i>	<i>piḷḷai-t-taṇam</i>
<i>ciṟu-mai</i>	<i>ciṇṇa-t-taṇam</i>
<i>peru-mai</i>	<i>periya-taṇam</i>

43. (a). The termination *taṇam* is sometimes attached to applicative nouns in the colloquial language, e. g. —

<i>vīṇaṇ-taṇam</i>	<i>vīṇa-t-taṇam</i>
<i>muṭṭāḷ-taṇam</i>	<i>muṭṭāḷ-t-taṇam</i>
<i>pōkkiri-taṇam</i>	<i>pōkkiri-t-taṇam</i>
<i>pāṭṭiya-k-kārāṇ-taṇam</i>	<i>pāṭṭiya-k-kārat-t-taṇam</i>

Such a formation is occasionally found in the literary language e. g., *vaḷḷaṟṟaṇam* (*vaḷḷal-t-taṇam*)—Kambarārnāyaṇam, Ayōdyākāṇḍam, nagarniṅgu, 82.

43. (b). *taṇam* is sometimes affixed to abstract or verbal nouns in colloquial usage, e. g. :—

<i>aḍimai-taṇam</i>	<i>aḍimai-t-taṇam</i>
<i>ciṟumai-taṇam</i>	<i>ciṟumai-t-taṇam; ciṇṇa-t-taṇam</i>
<i>kuṟumbu-taṇam</i>	<i>kuṟumbu-t-taṇam</i>



4. The suffix *dār* (Persian) > *dhāra* (Skt.)<sup>44</sup> which is a common termination of several Urdu terms current in the colloquial language is sometimes attached to indigeneous substantives or Sanskrit derivatives as a suffix indicative of right or possession.

	Urdu	Sanskrit	Tamil
(Arabic)	<i>Mirās-dār</i>	<i>anubōga-dār</i>	<i>aḍaimāṇa-dār</i>
(Arabic)	<i>Tāsīl-dār</i>	<i>kiraya-dār</i>	<i>orri</i> > <i>oṭṭi-dār</i>
(Arabic)	<i>Haqq-dār</i>		<i>maṇu-dār</i>
(Arabic)	<i>Iṇām-dār</i>		
(Arabic)	<i>Candā-dār</i>		

5. Colloquialisms are sometimes formed on the analogy of literary terms.

Lit.	<i>naṇmai-tīmai</i>	Col.	<i>nō-k-kāḍu</i> <sup>47</sup>
Col.	<i>naṇmai-tiṇmai</i> <sup>45</sup>	Col.	<i>vē-k-kāḍu</i>
Lit.	<i>kurra-vāḷi</i>	Col.	<i>pō-k-kāḍu</i>
Col.	<i>cutta-vāḷi</i> <sup>46</sup>	Col.	<i>vilu-k-kāḍu</i>

6. The word *māṇam*<sup>48</sup> is largely used as a nominal suffix in the colloquial language in cases where the literary language employs a suffix of the verbal noun.

44. The suffix *dāran* is also used for the same purpose, e. g.

*kuttagai-dāran* (Lessee) C. G. 14.

*viṇṇoppa-dāran* (Petitioner) C. G. 62.

*lēṇi-dāran* (Creditor) C. G. 69.

*vāṇsu-dāran* (Heir) C. G. 61.

*Hak* > *akku-dāran* (Holder of a right) C. G. 63.

(C. G.—Classified glossary by Sivaramaia.)

45. *Tiṇmai* is occasionally used in Tamil poetry. Refer *Taṇiyaṇ*, *Kambarām-āyaṇam*.

46. *Cuttavāḷi* is commonly used in criminal courts of justice as the opposite of *Kurra-vāḷi* (guilty person).

47. These four words are formed by suffixing *kāḍu* to the verbal roots probably after the manner of *cākkāḍu* used in the literary language (*Tirukkuraḷ*, 339).

48. *Māṇam* is sometimes affixed to substantive nouns, e. g.

*vēlai-māṇam*

*kaṭṭu - māṇam*

*vāṇam*, a variant of *māṇam*, is used as a suffix in *cil-vāṇam*.

Lit.	Col.
<i>tīrppu</i>	<i>tīr-māṇam</i>
<i>cērkkaī</i>	<i>cēr-māṇam</i>
<i>aḍaku (aḍaiku)</i>	<i>aḍai-māṇam</i>
<i>aḷivu</i>	<i>aḷi-māṇam</i>
<i>varavu</i>	<i>varu-māṇam</i>

7. In the colloquial language the principal noun in a sentence is repeated with initial variation probably for the sake of effect. In such cases the first syllable of the second word is *ki* or *kī* according as the initial syllable of the original word is short or long.

<i>ki</i>	<i>kī</i>
<i>kaṛai-kiṛai</i>	<i>kāḍu-kīḍu</i>
<i>calli-killi</i>	<i>cāḍi-kīḍi</i>
<i>taḍi-kiḍi</i>	<i>tāḍi-kīḍi</i>
<i>panai-kinai</i>	<i>pāṇai-kīṇai</i>
<i>maram-kiram</i>	<i>māḍi-kīḍi</i>

8. In the literary language numeral appellative nouns of plurality are formed by affixing the epicene plural suffix to the numeral adjective<sup>48a</sup>. The colloquial language generally expresses plurality of persons by suitable post-positions to the neuter nouns of number.

Lit.	Col.
<i>iru-v-ar</i>	<i>iraṇḍu-pēr (or āḷ)</i>
<i>aṟu-v-ar</i>	<i>āṟu-pēr</i>
<i>eṇ-mar</i>	<i>eṇṇu-p-pēr</i>
<i>nūṟu-v-ar</i>	<i>nūṟu-pēr</i>
<i>āyira-v-ar</i>	<i>āyiram-pēr</i>

48-a. The epicene plural suffix *ar*, (*ār*) is used as an honorific singular suffix, particularly in the colloquial usage of the south.

Sing.	Hon. Sing.
<i>Aiyan</i>	<i>Aiyar</i>
<i>Rāvuttan</i>	<i>Rāvuttar</i>
<i>Mudali</i>	<i>Mudali-y-ār</i>
<i>Ceṭṭi</i>	<i>Ceṭṭi-y-ār</i>

## b. Pronouns

1. In the colloquial language *nāṇ*<sup>49</sup> in the first person singular and *nāṅgaḷ* in the first person plural are commonly used. *Nām*<sup>50</sup> is occasionally used in the first person singular by the dignitaries of the Church and the State.

In the second person, *nī*, *nīr*, and *nīṅgaḷ* are employed to denote different degrees of respectability. *Nī* is generally used with reference to inferiors, *nīr* with reference to equals and *nīṅgaḷ* with reference to superiors. Sometimes the reflexive plural *tāṅgaḷ* is used in the second person singular when the highest respect is meant to be expressed.

Similarly the demonstrative pronouns, *avaṇ*, *avar*, *avargaḷ* are used in the singular with reference to persons occupying inferior, equal and superior positions respectively. It must be said, however, that usage has not evolved a uniform standard of respectability applicable to the Tamil country as a whole, and hence there are differences in the application of these honorific pronouns. For instance, *nīr* and *avar* which are regarded as terms of respect in the northern districts of the Tamil country are not considered to be sufficiently respectable in the southern districts. *Avargaḷ* corrupted into *avāḷ* is commonly attached in the colloquial language of the south to the name of the community to which a person belongs.

e.g.     *Aiyar-avāḷ*                      *Piḷḷai-avāḷ*                      *Mudaliyār-avāḷ*.

Demonstrative singular pronouns are pluralised in the literary language by replacing the singular suffixes by plural particles but in the colloquial language they are generally pluralised by suffixing the neuter particle of pluralisation,<sup>51</sup> and the corresponding verbs are pluralised likewise.

49. *Yāṇ* in the first person singular and *yām* in the first person plural are preferred to *nāṇ* and *nām* in elegant literary usage.

50. In the colloquial language *nām* is used in the plural as an inclusive pronoun but the inflectional base of this plural pronoun is commonly used as a polite or courteous singular. In the expressions *nam-paiyaṇ* or *namma paiyaṇ*; *nam viḍu* or *namma viḍu*, the inflectional base which has the genitive force is really a polite singular though plural in form.

51. *atugaḷ* (P. T. L. 184)

*itugaḷ* (P. T. L. 178)

*iruntadugaḷ* (P. T. L. 194)

*irukkutugaḷ* (P. T. L. 175)

	Mas. Sing.	Fem. Sing.	Mas. Plu.	Fem. Plu.	Neu. Sing.	Neu. Plu.
Lit.	<i>avan</i>	<i>avaḷ</i>	<i>avar</i>	<i>avar</i>	<i>atu</i>	<i>avai</i>
Col.	<i>avan</i>	<i>avaḷ</i>	<i>avaṅgaḷ</i>	<i>avaḷgaḷ</i>	<i>atu</i>	<i>atugaḷ</i>

	Mas.-Fem.	Neu.
Lit.	<i>avar vandār</i>	<i>avai vandana</i>
Col.	<i>avaṅgal vandāṅgaḷ</i>	<i>atugal</i>
	<i>avaḷgaḷ vandāḷgaḷ</i>	<i>vandatugaḷ</i>

2. Demonstrative and interrogative relative participles are used in the colloquial language in cases where the literary language employs demonstrative and interrogative prefixes.

Lit.	Col.
<i>a-v-viḍu</i>	<i>anda viḍu</i>
<i>a-m-maram</i>	<i>anda maram</i>
<i>e-v-viḍu</i>	<i>enda viḍu</i>
<i>e-m-maram</i>	<i>enda maram</i>

### c. Verbs

1. The only medial particle (*iḍainilai*) of the present tense in use in the colloquial language is *kiṟu* of which the last syllable is generally elided if the initial consonant of the medial particle is re-duplicated in combination<sup>52</sup> (Sandhi) and the first syllable is elided in other cases.<sup>53</sup>

52. In cases where the semi-vowel preceding the medial particle is changed into a surd by grammatical rules of combination, the second syllable of the medial particle is ordinarily eliminated in the colloquial language.

	Mas.	Fem.	Neu.
Lit.	<i>kēṭ-kiṟ-āṇ</i>	<i>kēṭ-kiṟ-āḷ</i>	<i>kēṭ-kiṟ-atu</i>
	<i>kēṭ-k-k-āṇ</i>	<i>kēṭ-k-k-āḷ</i>	<i>kēṭ-k-k-utu</i>
Col.	<i>kē-k-k-āṇ</i>	<i>kē-k-k-āḷ</i>	<i>kē-k-k-utu</i>
Lit.	<i>niṟ-kiṟ-āṇ</i>	<i>niṟ-kiṟ-āḷ</i>	<i>niṟ-kiṟ-atu</i>
	<i>niḷ-k-k-āṇ</i>	<i>niḷ-k-k-āḷ</i>	<i>niḷ-k-k-utu</i>
Col.	<i>ni-k-k-āṇ</i>	<i>ni-k-k-āḷ</i>	<i>ni-k-k-utu</i>

53. Where the medial particle *kiṟu* is preceded by *ṇ*, the second syllable is eliminated and the alveolar nasal is replaced by the guttural nasal in pronunciation.

Lit.	Col.
<i>eṇ-kiṟ-āṇ</i>	<i>eṇ-k-āṇ &gt; eṅgāṇ &gt; iṅgāṇ</i>
<i>tiṇ-kiṟ-āṇ</i>	<i>tiṇ-k-āṇ &gt; tiṅgāṇ</i>

	Mas.	Fem.	Neu.
Lit.	<i>iru-k-kiṛ-āṇ</i>	<i>iru-k-kiṛ-āḷ</i>	<i>iru-k-kiṛ-atu</i>
Col.	<i>iru-k-k-āṇ</i>	<i>iru-k-k-āḷ</i>	<i>iru-k-k-utu</i> <sup>54</sup>
Lit.	<i>pār-k-kiṛ-āṇ</i>	<i>pār-k-kiṛ-āḷ</i>	<i>pār-k-kiṛ-atu</i>
Col.	<i>pār-k-k-āṇ</i>	<i>pār-k-k-āḷ</i>	<i>pār-k-k-utu</i>
Lit.	<i>ēy-k-kiṛ-āṇ</i>	<i>ēy-k-kiṛ-āḷ</i>	<i>ēy-k-kiṛ-atu</i>
Col.	<i>ēy-k-k-āṇ</i>	<i>ēy-k-k-āḷ</i>	<i>ēy-k-k-ulu</i>
Lit.	<i>pō-kiṛ-āṇ</i>	<i>pō-kiṛ-āḷ</i>	<i>pō-kiṛ-atu</i>
Col.	<i>pō-r-āṇ</i>	<i>pō-r-āḷ</i>	<i>pō-r-atu</i>
Lit.	<i>ōḍu-kiṛ-āṇ</i>	<i>ōḍu-kiṛ-āḷ</i>	<i>ōḍu-kiṛ-atu</i> <sup>55</sup>
Col.	<i>ōḍu-r-āṇ</i>	<i>ōḍu-r-āḷ</i>	<i>ōḍu-r-atu</i>
Lit.	<i>pāy-kiṛ-āṇ</i>	<i>pāy-kiṛ-āḷ</i>	<i>pāy-kiṛ-atu</i>
Col.	<i>pāy-r-āṇ</i>	<i>pāy-r-āḷ</i>	<i>pāy-r-atu</i>
Lit.	<i>taḷḷu-kiṛ-āṇ</i>	<i>taḷḷu-kiṛ-āḷ</i>	<i>taḷḷu-kiṛ-atu</i>
Col.	<i>taḷḷu-r-āṇ</i>	<i>taḷḷu-r-āḷ</i>	<i>taḷḷu-r-atu</i>

2. In the colloquial language the neuter singular termination *irru* of finite verbs of the past tense is changed into *iccu* to which the neuter pronominal termination *tu* is sometimes attached.<sup>56</sup>

*irru* > *ittu* > *iccu*

Lit.	Col.
<i>āy-irru</i> > <i>āyittu</i> > <i>āyiccu</i> > <i>āyccu</i> > <i>āccu</i> , <i>āccutu</i>	
<i>pōy-irru</i> > <i>pōyittu</i> > <i>pōyiccu</i> > <i>pōyccu</i> > <i>pōccu</i> , <i>pōccutu</i>	
<i>tāu-irru</i> > <i>tāvittu</i> > <i>tāviccu</i> > <i>tāvuccu</i>	

54. Bharathi's *Kaṇṇan pāṭṭu*. The change of *atu* into *utu* is perhaps due to assimilation.

55. *r* often changes into *t*. Note the following colloquial forms.

Mas.	Fem.	Neu.
<i>ōḍu-t-āṇ</i>	<i>ōḍu-t-āḷ</i>	<i>ōḍu-tu</i>
<i>pāy-t-āṇ</i>	<i>pāy-t-āḷ</i>	<i>pāy-tu</i> ( <i>pāy-u-tu</i> )
<i>taḷḷu-t-āṇ</i>	<i>taḷḷu-t-āḷ</i>	<i>taḷḷu-tu</i>

*Irukkutu*, *pāyutu* (present tense), and *āccu*, *pōccu* (past tense) are recognised as corruptions (*marūu*) in the Tamil grammar, and used as such in modern Tamil poetry. *irukkutu* (Kurṅāla-k-kuravañci); *pāyutu*, *āccu*, *pōccu* (Bharathi's poems).

56. *āccutu*, *pōccutu*, Bharathi's *Pāñchālī Capatam*, 1, 113.

3. The present tense is commonly used for the future in the colloquial language.

Lit.	Col.
<i>nālai-k-ku-varuvēn</i>	<i>nālai-k-ku-varukiṛēn</i>
<i>ūrukku-p-pōy-eḷuṭuvēn</i>	<i>ūrukku-p-pōy-eḷutukiṛēn</i>

4. The formation of the negative verb by inserting the particle of negation between the verbal root and the pronominal termination is restricted to the neuter in the colloquial language. In the masculine and feminine genders the negative particle is attached to an auxiliary verb inserted between the verbal theme and the pronominal termination.

	Mas.	Fem.	Neu.
Lit.	<i>cey-y-ān</i>	<i>cey-y-ā!</i>	<i>cey-y-ā-tu</i>
Col.	<i>ceyya-māṭṭ-ān</i>	<i>ceyya-māṭṭ-ā!</i>	<i>cey-y-ā-tu</i>
Lit.	<i>nillān</i>	<i>nillā!</i>	<i>nillātu</i>
Col.	<i>nirka-māṭṭ-ān</i>	<i>nirka-māṭṭ-ā!</i>	<i>nillātu</i>

5. When the termination of the affirmative verbs in the neuter is preceded by the guttural consonant, the particle of negation is inserted between the guttural consonant and the pronominal termination in the colloquial language.

	Affirmative.	Negative.
Lit.	<i>naḍa-k-kum</i>	<i>naḍa-v-ā-tu</i>
Col.	<i>naḍa-k-kum</i>	<i>naḍa-k-kā-tu</i>
Lit.	<i>iru-k-kum</i>	<i>ir-ā-tu</i>
Col.	<i>iru-k-kum</i>	<i>iru-k-kā-tu</i>

6. Consonantal glides are not usually invoked in the colloquial language for the euphonic combination of contiguous vowels.<sup>57</sup>

Lit.	Col.
<i>paṇai-y-ōlai</i>	<i>paṇai-ōlai</i>
<i>palā-v-ilai</i>	<i>palā-ilai</i>
<i>tiru-v-avatāram</i>	<i>tiru-avatāram</i>

57. In some familiar compounds the glides are retained in the colloquial language probably by the force of literary usage.

*tiru + ātirai* (*tiru-v-ātirai*)  
*tiru + ārūr* (*tiru-v-ārūr*)  
*tiru + aiyāru* (*tiru-v-aiyāru*)

7. The grammatical rules governing the 'euphonic permutation of consonants' are generally ignored in the colloquial language. For instance, the rules governing.

(a) the change of *ṇ* and *ṇ* into *ṛ* and *ṛ* respectively before surds.

	Lit.	Col.
<i>maṇ + kuḍam</i>	<i>maṛ-kuḍam</i>	<i>maṇ-kuḍam</i>
<i>maṇ + cuvar</i>	<i>maṛ-cuvar</i>	<i>maṇ-cuvar</i>
<i>poṇ + kiṇṇi</i>	<i>poṛ-kiṇṇi</i>	<i>poṇ-kiṇṇi</i>
<i>poṇ + caraḍu</i>	<i>poṛ-caraḍu</i>	<i>poṇ-caraḍu</i>

(b) The change of *l* and *ḷ* into *ṛ* and *ṛ* respectively before surds and into *ṇ* and *ṇ* before nasals.<sup>58</sup>

	Lit.	Col.
<i>kaḍal + karai</i>	<i>kāḍaṛkarai</i>	<i>kaḍal-k-karai</i>
<i>pal + poḍi</i>	<i>paṛpoḍi</i>	<i>pal-lu-p-poḍi</i>
<i>kal + malai</i>	<i>kaṇmalai</i>	<i>kal-lu-malai</i>
<i>kaḷ + kaḍai</i>	<i>kaṛkaḍai</i>	<i>kaḷ-lu-k-kaḍai</i>
<i>muḷ + ceḍi</i>	<i>muṛceḍi</i>	<i>muḷ-lu-c-ceḍi</i>
<i>aruḷ + moḷi</i>	<i>aruṇmoḷi</i>	<i>aruḷ-moḷi</i>

(c) The change of *t* into *ṛ* after *l* and *ṇ* and into *ṛ* after *ḷ* and *ṇ*.

	Lit.	Col.
<i>kal + tūṇ</i>	<i>kaṛṛtūṇ</i>	<i>kal-t-tūṇ</i>
<i>pul + tarai</i>	<i>puṛṛarai</i>	<i>pullu-t-tarai</i>
<i>māṇ + tōl</i>	<i>māṇṛōl</i>	<i>māṇ-tōl</i>
<i>muḷ + tāḷ</i>	<i>muṛṛtāḷ</i>	<i>muḷ-t-tāḷ</i>
<i>maṇ + tāḷi</i>	<i>maṛṛtāḷi</i>	<i>maṇ-tāḷi</i>

	Lit.	Col.
58. Kōyil-celavu	kōyīṛcelavu	kōyil-c-celavu (P. T. L. 179)
mutal+peṇ	mutaṛpeṇ	mutal-p-peṇ (P. T. L. 196)
mēl+kaṇḍa	mēṛkaṇḍa	mēl-k-kaṇḍa (P. T. L. 176)
uḷ+kuḍi	uṛkuḍi	uḷ-k-kuḍi (P. T. L. 179)
uḷ+paṭṭa	uṛpaṭṭa	uḷ-p-paṭṭa (P. T. L. 173)

(d) The change of *n* into *ṇ* after *l* and into *ṇ* after *l*.

	Lit.	Col.
<i>pul + nuṇi</i>	<i>puṇṇuṇi</i>	<i>pul-nuṇi</i>
<i>kal + nāḍu</i>	<i>kaṇṇāḍu</i>	<i>kal-nāḍu</i>
<i>uḷ + nilam</i>	<i>uṇṇilam</i>	<i>uḷ-nilam</i>
<i>uḷ + nāḱku</i>	<i>uṇṇāḱku</i>	<i>uḷ-nāḱku</i>

### III. Lexical

The vocabulary of the literary language consists of four classes of words; viz.

1. *Iyarcol* — (Simple, common words)

2. *Tiricol* — (literary words)<sup>59</sup>

3. *Ticai-c-col* — (words borrowed from the twelve countries bordering the ancient *cen-tamil* land)<sup>60</sup>

4. *Vaḍa-col* — (literally northern words). Loan-words in Sanskrit and Prakritic forms.

The following are instances of *vaḍa-col* borrowed in tamil in their prakritic form.

59. It includes homonyms and synonyms (*Tolkāppiyam*, Col. 399).

60. *Tolkāppiyam*, col. 400. The following words are given by the commentators as examples of *Ticai-c-col*.

பெற்றம்	peṇṇam (cow)—Ten-pāṇḍi-nāḍu
தள்ளை	taḷḷai (mother)—Kuṭṭa-nāḍu
ஞென்றை	ñeḷḷai (dog)—do.
அச்சன்	accan (father)—Kuḍa-nāḍu
கையர்	kaiyar (cheats)—Kaṛkā-nāḍu
எலுவன்	eluvaṇ (man-friend)—Cita-nāḍu
இகுவை	ihuḷai (woman's confidante)—do.
தந்துவை	tanduvai (mother's brother's wife)—do.
ஞமலி	ñamali (dog)—Pūḷi-nāḍu
பாழி	pāḷi (pool)—do.
செறு	ceṇu (field)—Aruvā-nāḍu
கேணி	kēṇi (pool)—do.
குட்டை	kuṭṭai (kuṇṇi-a measure)—Aruvā—vaḍatalai-nāḍu.



	Tamil	Prakrit	Sanskrit
அத்தாணி	attāṇi	attāṇi	āsthāna
ஆணை	āṇai	āṇā	ājñā
அய்யன்	ayyaṇ	ayya	ārya
உய்யானம்	uyyāṇam	uyyāna	udyāna
கண்ணன்	kaṇṇaṇ	kaṇha	kr̥ṣṇa
கப்பரை	kapparai	khappara	karpara
சவுக்கம்	cavukkam	caukka	catuṣka
சாவகன்	cāvakaṇ	śāvaka	śrāvaka
சீயம்	cīyam	sīha	simha
சுப்பி	cippi	śippī	śukti
சுங்கம்	cuṅgam	suṅka	śulka
சுண்ணம்	cuṇṇam	cunṇa	cūrṇa
சுன்னம்	cuṇṇam	sunna	śūnya
தாதி	tādi	dhati	dhātri
நக்கன்	nakkaṇ	nakka	nagna
நிக்கந்தன்	nikkandaṇ	niggantha	nirgrantha
நிச்சம்	niccām	niccām	nitya
படிகம்	paḍikam	paḍiggaha	prati-graha
படிமை	paḍimai	padimā	pratimā
பந்தி	pandi	panti	pañkti
பயணம்	payanaṇ	payana	prayāṇa
பல்லக்கு	pallakku	pallaṅka	paryāṅka
பளிங்கு	paḷiṅgu	phalika	sphaṭika
பாகதம்	pākatam	pākata	prākṛta
புடவி	puḍavi	puḍhavi	prithvī
மச்சம்	maccām	maccham	matsya
முத்தி	mutti	mutti	mukti
மோனம்	mōṇam	mōna	mauna
வட்டி	vaṭṭi	vaṭṭi	vṛddhi
வண்ணம்	vaṇṇam	vaṇṇa	varṇa
வதம்	vatam	vatam	vrata

The vocabulary of the colloquial language is replete with pleonasms, reduplications and expressions pertaining to diverse arts and occupations.

## 1. PLEONASMS

(a) The following are instances of pleonasms in which a literary word is coupled with its popular equivalent.

அரைநாண் கயிறு	<i>arai-nāṇ-kayiru</i> > <i>ara-nā-k-kayaru</i>
சூருவளிக் காற்று	<i>cūrā-vaḷi-k-kārru</i> > <i>cūra-vaḷi-k-kāttu</i>
சகட வண்டி	<i>cakaḍa-vaṇḍi</i> > <i>cakkaḍa-vaṇḍi</i>
பழுதைக்கயிறு	<i>paḷutai-k-kayiru</i> > <i>paḷutai-k-kayaru</i>
பேழைப் பெட்டி	<i>pēḷai-p-peṭṭi</i> > <i>pōḷa-p-poṭṭi</i>
புயல் காற்று	<i>puyal-kārru</i> > <i>pusal-kāttu</i>
வெட்டரி வாள்	<i>veṭṭ-ari-vā!</i> > <i>veṭṭ-aruvā!</i>

(b) In the following pleonasms an indigenous word is yoked to an alien word.

<i>naḍu</i> (Tamil) — <i>matti</i> (madhya, Skt.) — <i>naḍu-matti</i> நடு மத்தி
<i>naḍu</i> (Tamil) — <i>mayyam</i> (madhya, Skt.) — <i>naḍu-mayyam</i> நடு மய்யம்
<i>gate</i> (Eng.) — <i>vāsal</i> (Tamil) — <i>kēṭṭu-vāsal</i> கேட்டு வாசல்
<i>shop</i> (Eng.) — <i>kaḍai</i> (Tamil) — <i>cāppu-k-kāḍai</i> சாப்புக்கடை
<i>civappu</i> (Tamil) — <i>red</i> (Eng.) — <i>civappu-reṭṭu</i> சிவப்பு ரெட்டு
<i>kaḍai</i> (Tamil) — <i>bāzār</i> (Persian) — <i>kaḍai-basār</i> கடை பசார்

## 2. REDUPLICATIONS

(a) Rhyming reduplication.

<i>vāṭṭa-cāṭṭam</i>	வாட்ட சாட்டம்
<i>vambu-tumbu</i>	வம்பு தும்பு
<i>koñja-nañjam</i>	கொஞ்ச நஞ்சம்
<i>asaṭṭu-p-pisaṭṭu</i>	அசட்டுப் பிசட்டு
<i>pōkkiri-cākkiri</i>	போக்கிரி சாக்கிரி
<i>narukku-p-pirukku</i>	நருக்குப்பிருக்கு
<i>pākki-cākki</i>	பாக்கி சாக்கி
<i>caṭṭu-p-piṭṭu</i>	சட்டுப்பிட்டு
<i>cāṭṭu-māṭṭu</i>	சாட்டு மாட்டு
<i>cāla-mālam</i>	சால மாலம்


<i>cēḍai-māḍai</i>	சாடை மாடை
<i>taṭṭu-muṭṭu</i>	தட்டு முட்டு
<i>nikku-p-pōkku</i>	நீக்குப்போக்கு
<i>cēkku-p-pōkku</i>	சாக்குப்போக்கு
<i>kaṭṭu-muṭṭu</i>	கட்டு முட்டு

(b) Stylistic or rhetorical reduplication.

<i>kanṇ-aṅ-garēr</i>	கன்னங்கரேர்
<i>ceḱka-c-cevēr</i>	செக்கச்செவேர்
<i>paccai-p-pasēr</i>	பச்சைப்பசேர்
<i>veḷḷai-veḷēr</i>	வெள்ளை வெளேர்
<i>cinṇam-ciṇru</i>	சின்னம் சிறு
<i>capṭu-c-cavaru</i>	சப்புச்சவறு
<i>taṇṇam-taṇi</i>	தன்னம் தனி
<i>ṭuttam-ṭudu</i>	புத்தம் புது
<i>paṭṭa-p-pahal</i>	பட்டப்பகல்
<i>veṭṭai-veṭi</i>	வெட்டை வெளி
<i>naṭṭai-naḍu</i>	நட்டை நடு (நட்டை நடுப்பெற)
<i>nahai-naṭṭu</i>	நகை நட்டு
<i>poṭṭu-p-poḍi</i>	பொட்டுப்பொடி
<i>taṭṭu-t-taḍai</i>	தட்டுத்தடை

(3) Expressions pertaining to arts and occupations.<sup>61</sup>

ஏழாம் பொருத்தம்	<i>ēḷām-poruttam</i> (Astrology) —incompatability of temperament.
கம்பி நீட்டல்	<i>kambi-niṭṭal</i> (Goldsmith's art) —to steal away.
கட்டு அவிழ்த்தல்	<i>kaṭṭu-aviṭṭal</i> <sup>62</sup> (Medical treatment) —to disclose one's real state of affairs.
காது குத்தல்	<i>kādu kuttal</i> (Goldsmith's art). —to beguile.

61. The particular art or occupation is enclosed in brackets. 

62. எல்லாம் முன்னுங்கட்டிழைத்தால் தெரியும்.

காக்காய் பிடித்தல்	<i>kākkāy-piḍittal</i> (Bird-catching) —to coax by word or deed.
குல்லாப்போடுதல்	<i>kullā-p-pōḍutal</i> <sup>63</sup> (Dressing) —to cajole.
சாடு விடுதல்	<i>carāḍu-viḍutal</i> (Goldsmith's art) —to concoct and circulate a story.
சாயம் வெளுத்தல்	<i>cāyam—veḷuttal</i> (Dyeing) —to appear in true colours.
பதம் பார்த்தல்	<i>padam-pārttal</i> (Cooking) —to test.
பூசி மழுப்பல்	<i>pūsi-maḷuppal</i> (Painting) —to explain away.
பித்தலாட்டம் செய்தல்	<i>pittalāṭṭam-ceyḍal</i> <sup>64</sup> (Alchemy) —to cheat.
மல்லாடல்	<i>mallāḍal</i> <sup>65</sup> (Wrestling) —to bandy words.
மன்னாடல்	<i>manṇāḍal &gt; manṇāḍal</i> (Pleading) —to make a persistent request.

The vocabulary of the colloquial language comprises, besides Sanskrit derivatives, words drawn from cognate languages (Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam), Classical languages (Persian, Arabic), North-Indian languages (Marathi, Hindustani) and modern European languages (Portuguese, Dutch, French, English), a classification of which is given below.<sup>66</sup>

## 1. ORNAMENTS

அட்டிகை	<i>aṭṭikai &lt; K. aḍḍike</i>
கொலுசு	<i>kolusu &lt; T. golusu</i>

63. This expression probably owes its origin to the practice of wearing a head-dress to please the Muslims when they were the rulers of this land.

64. Pittalāṭṭam (probably pittala + hāṭṭaka)—Deception, fraud in passing brass for gold. (T. L.)

65. “கல்லாடம் படித்தவனோடு மல்லாடாதே”

66. The classified list is not exhaustive but only illustrative.

சிமிக்கி	<i>cimikki</i> < H. <i>camkī</i>
தாயத்து	<i>tāyattu</i> < A. corruption of <i>ta'wīdh</i> ?
தோடா	<i>tōḍā</i> < H. <i>tōṛā</i>
பாட்லா	<i>pāṭlā</i> < Mhr. <i>pāṭali</i>
பாசி பந்து	<i>pāsi-pandu</i> < P. <i>bāzū-band</i>
பில்லாக்கு	<i>pillākkū</i> < Tur. <i>bulāq</i> , <i>bulāk</i>
நத்து	<i>nattu</i> < H. <i>nath</i>
பேசரி	<i>pēsari</i> < H. <i>bēsar</i>
நகாசு	<i>nahāsu</i> < A. <i>naqsh</i>
ராக்கடி	<i>rākkadi</i> < H. <i>rākhṛī</i>
லோலக்கு	<i>lōlakku</i> < H. <i>lōlak</i>
மெடல்	<i>meḍal</i> < E. <i>medal</i>

## 2. APPAREL

உருமால்	<i>urumāl</i> < P. <i>rūmāl</i>
கதர்	<i>kadar</i> < H. <i>khudrā</i> = rough
குடித்துணி	<i>kuḍittuṇi</i> < P. <i>kurta</i>
கமிசு	<i>kamisu</i> < A. <i>qamīṣ</i>
குல்லா	<i>kullā</i> < P. <i>kulāh</i>
சொக்காய்	<i>cokkāy</i> < T. <i>tcokkā</i>
சரிகை	<i>carihai</i> < P. <i>zari</i>
சகலாத்து	<i>cahalāttu</i> < P. <i>saqallāt</i> , <i>saqalāt</i>
சாக்கட்டு	<i>cākkatṭu</i> < E. <i>jacket</i>
சாரி	<i>cārī</i> < S. <i>sārī</i>
சால்வை	<i>cālvai</i> < P. <i>shāl</i>
சிராய்	<i>cirāy</i> < A. <i>shara'i</i>
டிராயர்	<i>ḍirāyar</i> < E. <i>drawers</i>
டோரியா	<i>ḍōriyā</i> < H. <i>ḍōriyā</i>
தாவணி	<i>tāvāṇi</i> < P. <i>dāmanī</i>
துப்பட்டா	<i>tuppaṭṭā</i> < H. <i>dū-paṭṭa</i>
தோத்தி	<i>tōtti</i> < H. <i>dhōtī</i>
துவாலே	<i>tuvālai</i> < Port. <i>toalha</i>

தொப்பி	<i>toppi</i> < H. <i>tōpī</i>
நேரியல்	<i>nēriyal</i> < M. <i>nēriyal</i>
பாகை	<i>pāhai</i> < H. <i>pāg</i>
பாடி	<i>pāḍi</i> < E. <i>bodice</i>
புட்டா	<i>puṭṭā</i> < H. <i>būṭā</i>
நாடா	<i>nāḍā</i> < H. <i>nālā</i> (P. <i>nawār</i> , <i>nuwār</i> )
நிசார்	<i>nisār</i> < A. <i>izār</i>
மகமல்	<i>mahamal</i> < A. <i>makhmal</i>
மல்	<i>mal</i> < P. <i>malmal</i>
முண்டாசு	<i>muṇḍāsu</i> < H. <i>mūṇḍ</i> + ?
லங்கோடு	<i>laṅgōḍu</i> < H. <i>laṅgōḍī</i>
ஜிப்பா	<i>jippā</i> < A. <i>jubba</i>
ஜோடு	<i>jōḍu</i> < H. <i>jōṛ</i>
லுங்கி	<i>luṅgi</i> < P. <i>luṅgī</i>
சூட்டு	<i>cūṭṭu</i> < E. <i>suit</i>
சர்ட்டு	<i>carṭṭu</i> < E. <i>shirt</i>
கோட்டு	<i>kōṭṭu</i> < E. <i>coat</i>
காலர்	<i>kālar</i> < E. <i>collar</i>
டை	<i>ṭai</i> < E. <i>tie</i>
பனியன்	<i>paṇiyan</i> < A. <i>bunyān</i>
பாக்கெட்	<i>pākkeṭṭu</i> < E. <i>pocket</i>
பித்தான்	<i>pittān</i> < E. <i>button</i> <sup>67</sup>
பிளானல்	<i>piḷāṇal</i> < E. <i>flannel</i>
பிலுட்டு	<i>piluṭṭu</i> < E. <i>belt</i>
பூடுசு	<i>pūḍusu</i> < E. <i>boots</i>
சப்பாத்து	<i>cappāttu</i> < Port. <i>sapato</i>

### 3. CONFECTION AND CONDIMENTS

அல்வா	<i>alvā</i> < A. <i>ḥalwā</i>
காராப்பூந்தி	<i>kārā-p-pūndi</i> < Ta. <i>kāram</i> + H. <i>būndī</i>

67. பொத்தான் *pottān*, a variant of *pittān* is probably a corruption of the Portuguese *botão*.

கிச்சடி	<i>kiccaḍi</i> < H. <i>khichrī</i>
கீர்	<i>kīr</i> < H. <i>khīr</i>
குல்கந்து	<i>kulkandu</i> < <i>gul-qand</i> (P. <i>gul</i> + A. <i>qand</i> )
கேசரி	<i>kēsari</i> < H. <i>kēśarī</i>
கோவா	<i>kōvā</i> < H. <i>kho'ā</i>
கொச்சு	<i>koccu</i> < H. <i>kaccā</i>
சப்பாத்தி	<i>cappātti</i> < P. <i>cappāti</i>
சட்னி	<i>caṭṇi</i> < <i>caṭṇī</i>
சாம்பார்	<i>cāmbār</i> < Mhr. <i>sāmbhār</i>
லட்டு	<i>laṭṭu</i> < H. <i>laḍḍū</i>
சிலேபி	<i>cilēbi</i> < A. <i>zalābiyya</i>
சொஜ்ஜி	<i>cojji</i> < <i>sūji</i>
சேமியா	<i>cēmiyā</i> < Mhr. <i>sevayā</i> , H. <i>sewaīn</i>
கோசம்பரி	<i>kōsumbari</i> < Mhr. <i>kōśimbari</i>
டாங்கர்	<i>ṭāṅgar</i> < Mhr. <i>daṅgar</i>
பட்டாணி	<i>paṭṭāṇi</i> < Mhr. <i>puṭānā</i>
பக்கோடா	<i>pakkōḍā</i> < H. <i>pakōṛā</i>
பஜ்ஜி	<i>pajji</i> < H. <i>bhūjya</i>
பருப்பி	<i>paruppi</i> < P. <i>barfī</i>
பாதாம்	<i>pādām</i> < P. <i>bādām</i>
பாத்து	<i>pāttu</i> < Mhr. <i>bhāta</i>
பூரி	<i>pūri</i> < H. <i>pūrī</i>
பூந்தி	<i>pūndi</i> < H. <i>būndī</i>
புலாவ்	<i>pulāv</i> < P. <i>pulāo</i>
பேணி	<i>pēṇi</i> < H. <i>phēṇi</i>
பேடா	<i>pēḍā</i> < H. <i>pēṛā</i>
மசாலா	<i>masālā</i> < A. <i>maṣālīḥ</i>
மிட்டாய்	<i>miṭṭāy</i> < H. <i>mīṭhā</i>
முரப்பா	<i>murappā</i> < A. <i>murabba</i>
மைசூர்பாகு	<i>maīsūr-pāhu</i> > probably A. <i>miṣrī</i> + Skt. <i>pāk</i> .
மைதா	<i>maidā</i> < P. <i>mayda</i>
ரவை	<i>ravai</i> < H. <i>ravā</i>

தோசை	<i>tōsai</i> < Port. <i>doce</i>
ரொட்டி	<i>roṭṭi</i> < H. <i>rōṭī</i>
ஐஸ்கிரீம்	<i>aiskirīm</i> < E. <i>ice-cream</i>
கேக்கு	<i>kēkku</i> < E. <i>cake</i>
கருவாடு	<i>karuvāḍu</i> < Port. <i>cravado</i> ?
சாக்கலட்டு	<i>cākkalaṭṭu</i> < E. <i>chocolat</i>
பப்பிரமெண்டு	<i>pappirameṇḍu</i> < E. <i>pepper-mint</i>
பிசுக்கொத்து	<i>pisukkottu</i> < E. <i>biscuit</i>
டோஸ்டு	<i>tōsṭṭu</i> < E. <i>toast</i>

## 4. FRUITS AND DRINKS

அன்னசி	<i>annāsi</i> < Port. <i>ananās</i> (Braz. <i>nanas</i> )
ஆரஞ்சி	<i>ārañji</i> < E. <i>orange</i>
ஆப்பிள்	<i>āppiḷ</i> < E. <i>apple</i>
ஆல்பக்கடா	<i>ālpakkadā</i> < P. <i>ālū-bukhāra</i>
எலுமிச்சை	<i>elumiccāi</i> <sup>68</sup> < A. <i>laymūn</i> + P. <i>tursh</i>
கொய்யா	<i>koyyā</i> < Braz. <i>guayaba</i> , Port. <i>goiaba</i>
சப்போட்டா	<i>cappōṭṭā</i> < E. <i>sapodilla</i>
சீத்தாப்பழம்	<i>cīttā-p-paḷam</i> < H. <i>sitāphal</i>
தம்பட்டம்	<i>tambaṭṭam</i> < E. <i>tomato</i>
பப்பாளி	<i>pappāḷi</i> < Malay. <i>papaya</i>
பறங்கி (ப்பழம்)	<i>paraṅgi-(p-paḷam)</i> <sup>69</sup> < P. <i>frangī</i> + <i>Ta.</i>
பம்பளிமாசு	<i>pambaḷimāsu</i> < Malay. <i>pampelmoose</i>
பேரிக்காய்	<i>pēri-k-kāy</i> < E. <i>pear</i> + <i>Ta.</i>
மங்குஸ்தான்	<i>maṅgustān</i> < Malay. <i>maṅgistan</i>
வியின்	<i>viṇ</i> < E. <i>wine</i>
ஓவல்	<i>ōval</i> < E. <i>ovaltine</i>

68. P | tursh—sour.  
| turush

Probably i the prothetic prefix of *lumiccāi*,  
(corruption of *laymūn tursh*) has changed  
e. *lumiccāi* > *ilumiccāi* > *elumiccāi*.

69. *Farangi* or *frangi* is a Persian corruption of *frank*. In Persian *Firangistan* 'is the name for Europe.—See Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages, pp. 17-18.



கலர்	<i>kalar</i> < E. <i>colour</i>
கோலா	<i>kōlā</i> < H. <i>kēlā</i>
காப்பி	<i>kāppi</i> < E. <i>coffee</i>
கொக்கோ	<i>kokkō</i> < E. <i>cocoa</i>
சர்பத்து	<i>carpattu</i> < A. <i>sharbat</i>
சாயா	<i>cāyā</i> < Chin. <i>tshā</i> . (P. <i>cāy</i> )
சாலத்து	<i>cālattu</i> < E. <i>salad</i> (fruit-salad)
சோடா	<i>cōḍā</i> < E. <i>soda</i>
பிராந்தி	<i>pirāndi</i> < E. <i>brandy</i>
தேநீர்	<i>tē-nīr</i> < Malay. <i>tē</i> + Ta. (Chin. <i>t'e</i> )
லெமனெட்டு	<i>lemanēṭṭu</i> < E. <i>lemonade</i>

## 5. ARCHITECTURE

ஆர்ச்சு	<i>ārccu</i> < E. <i>arch</i>
கமான்	<i>kamāṇ</i> < P. <i>kamān</i>
கர்டர்	<i>karḍar</i> < E. <i>girder</i>
கக்கூசு	<i>kakkūsu</i> < Dut. <i>kakhhuis</i>
குசினி	<i>kusiṇi</i> < Port. <i>cozinha</i> (F. <i>cuisine</i> )
காம்பரா	<i>kāmbarā</i> < E. <i>camera</i>
காம்பவுண்டு	<i>kāmbavunḍu</i> < E. <i>compound</i>
காடியாணு	<i>kāḍiyāṇā</i> < H. <i>gārī</i> + P. <i>khāna</i>
கேட்டு	<i>kēṭṭu</i> < E. <i>gate</i>
கிராதி	<i>kirādi</i> < Port. <i>grade</i>
கோரி	<i>kōri</i> < P. <i>gōr</i>
சன்னல்	<i>caṇṇal</i> < Port. <i>janela</i>
செட்டு	<i>ceṭṭu</i> < E. <i>shed</i>
பங்களா	<i>paṅgaḷā</i> < E. <i>bungalow</i>
பட்டகசாலை	<i>paṭṭakasālai</i> < K. <i>paṭasāle</i>
பாலம்	<i>pālam</i> < H. <i>pāl</i> (P. <i>pul</i> )
தாரசா	<i>tārsā</i> < E. <i>terrace</i> ?
மால்	<i>māl</i> < A. <i>maḥall</i>
வராந்தா	<i>varāṇḍā</i> < Port. <i>veranda</i> cf. P. <i>bar-āmada</i>

## 6. FURNITURE

அலமாரு	<i>alamāru</i> < Port. <i>almario</i> , <i>armārio</i>
ஈச்சேர்	<i>īccēr</i> < E. <i>easy-chair</i>
குரிச்சி	<i>kuricci</i> < A. <i>kursi</i>
சோபா	<i>sōpā</i> < E. <i>sofa</i> (A. <i>ṣuffāḥ</i> )
டீப்பாய்	<i>ṭīppāy</i> < E. <i>teapoy</i> (P. <i>sih</i> + <i>pāe</i> )
பங்கா	<i>paṅgā</i> < H. <i>phaṅkā</i>
பீரோல்	<i>pīrōl</i> < E. <i>bureau</i>
பெஞ்சி	<i>peñji</i> < E. <i>bench</i>
மேசை	<i>mēsai</i> < Port. <i>mesa</i> , P. <i>mez</i> , <i>mīz</i>

## 7. UTENSILS

குண்டான்	<i>kuṇḍān</i> < Mhr. <i>guṇḍā</i>
கெண்டி	<i>keṇḍi</i> < Mhr. <i>giṇḍi</i>
கோப்பை	<i>kōppai</i> < E. <i>cup</i>
கூசா	<i>kūsā</i> { < A. <i>kūz</i>
கூஜா	
தமிழர்	<i>tamiḷar</i> < E. <i>tumbler</i>
பிங்கான்	<i>pīṅgān</i> < Chin. <i>pēn</i> + <i>ngān</i>
லோட்டா	<i>lōṭṭā</i> < H. <i>lōṭā</i>
அண்டா	<i>aṇḍā</i> < H. <i>haṇḍā</i>
தேக்கிசா	<i>tēkkisā</i> < P. <i>dēgca</i>
கெட்டில்	<i>keṭṭil</i> < E. <i>kettle</i>
வாளி	<i>vāḷi</i> < H. <i>bālī</i>

## 8. SUNDRY ARTICLES

அரிக்கன்	<i>arikkaṇ</i> < E. <i>hurricane lamp</i>
ஆரொட்டி	<i>āroṭṭi</i> < E. <i>arrowroot</i>
ஆக்கர்	<i>ākkar</i> < E. <i>auger</i>
இசுக்கோல்	<i>isukkōl</i> < E. <i>screw</i>
இஞ்சின்	<i>iñjin</i> < E. <i>engine</i>
ஊக்கு	<i>ūkku</i> < E. <i>hook</i>

கப்பி	<i>kappi</i> < A. <i>quabb</i>
குப்பி	<i>kuppi</i> < H. <i>kuppī</i>
கித்தான்	<i>kittān</i> < A. <i>kattān</i>
கீல்(கீர்)	<i>kīl</i> < A. <i>qīr</i> (commonly <i>kīl-eṇṇai</i> )
கோலி	<i>kōli</i> < P. <i>gōlī</i> , <i>gūlī</i>
கொப்பரை	<i>kopparai</i> < H. <i>khoprā</i>
சமுக்காளம்	<i>camukkāḷam</i> < H. <i>jamkūrā</i>
சாக்கு	<i>cākku</i> < Dut. <i>zak</i>
சாவி	<i>cāvi</i> < Port. <i>chave</i> = <i>key</i>
சாடி	<i>cāḍi</i> < Port. <i>jarra</i>
சிமிட்டி	<i>cimiṭṭi</i> < E. <i>cement</i>
சிலேட்டு	<i>cilēṭṭu</i> < E. <i>slate</i>
டப்பா	<i>ṭappā</i> < H. <i>ḍabba</i>
டப்பி	<i>ṭappi</i> < H. <i>ḍibbi</i> , <i>ḍabbī</i>
படுத்தா	<i>paḍutā</i> < P. <i>parda</i>
பம்பு	<i>pambu</i> < E. <i>pump</i>
பல்பு	<i>palbu</i> < E. <i>bulb</i>
பாட்டில்	<i>pāṭṭil</i> < E. <i>bottle</i> <sup>70</sup>
பிக்காசு	<i>pikkāsu</i> < E. <i>pick-axe</i>
பீப்பால்	<i>pīppāy</i> < Port. <i>pipa</i>
பொனல்	<i>poṇal</i> < E. <i>funnel</i>
மிசியன்	<i>miṣiyan</i> < E. <i>machine</i>
மில்	<i>mil</i> < E. <i>mill</i>
மீட்டர்	<i>mīṭṭar</i> < E. <i>meter</i>
நட்டு	<i>naṭṭu</i> < E. <i>nut</i>
லஸ்தர்	<i>lastar</i> < E. <i>cluster</i>
லாந்தர்	<i>lāṇdal</i> < E. <i>lantern</i> <sup>71</sup>
ராட்டு	<i>rāṭṭu</i> < H. <i>rahat</i>

70. போத்தல் pōttal, a variant of pāṭṭil, is probably derived from the Dutch bottel.

71. ராந்தல் rāntal, is a variant of lāntal.

வாச்சு	<i>vāccu</i> < E. <i>watch</i>
ஜாக்கி	<i>jākki</i> < E. <i>jack</i> (instrument)

## 9. LUXURIES

அம்பர்	<i>ambar</i> < A. 'anbar
அத்தர்	<i>attar</i> < A. 'iṭr
அபின்	<i>apiṇ</i> < P. <i>apyūn</i>
உக்கா	<i>ukkā</i> < A. <i>ḥuqqa</i>
ஊது பத்தி	<i>ūdu patti</i> < A. 'ūd + H. <i>battī</i>
கசகசா	<i>kasakasā</i> < P. <i>khashkhāsh</i>
கஞ்சா	<i>kañjā</i> < H. <i>gānjhā</i>
சோப்பு	<i>cōppu</i> < E. <i>soap</i>
சவ்வாது	<i>cavvādu</i> < A. <i>zabād</i>
சிகரட்டு	<i>cikaraṭṭu</i> < E. <i>cigarette</i>
சாம்பிராணி	<i>śāmbirāṇi</i> < Malay. <i>sāmrāṇi</i>
சாலாமிசிரி	<i>cālāmisiri</i> < A. <i>tha'labī</i> + <i>Miṣrī</i>
ரவேஸ்	<i>ravēs</i> < P. <i>rawish</i>
ரேக்கு	<i>rēkku</i> < P. <i>bārik</i>

## 10. CONVEYANCE

ஏரோப்ளேன்	<i>ērōplēṇ</i> < E. <i>aeroplane</i>
கார்	<i>kār</i> < E. <i>car</i>
கோச்சு	<i>kōccu</i> < E. <i>coach</i>
சட்கா	$\left. \begin{array}{l} caṭkā \\ jaṭkā \end{array} \right $ < H. <i>jhaṭkā</i>
ஜட்கா	
சப்பரம்	<i>capparam</i> < H. <i>chappar</i>
சாராட்டு	<i>cārāṭṭu</i> < E. <i>chariot</i>
சைக்கிள்	<i>caikkil</i> < E. <i>cycle</i> = <i>bi-cycle</i>
டக்கு	<i>ṭakku</i> < E. <i>truck</i>
டிராம்	<i>ṭirām</i> < E. <i>tram</i> = <i>tram-car</i>
டோலி	<i>ḍōli</i> < H. <i>dōlī</i>
மேனா	<i>mēṇā</i> < P. <i>miyāna</i> , <i>mēna</i>

பஸ்	<i>bas</i> < E. <i>bus</i> = <i>omnibus</i>
பீட்டன்	<i>pīṭṭan</i> < E. <i>phaeton</i>
மோட்டார்	<i>mōṭṭār</i> < E. <i>motor</i>
லாரி	<i>lārī</i> < E. <i>lorry</i>
ரயில்	<i>rayil</i> < E. <i>rail</i> = <i>railway train</i>
ரிக்ஷா	<i>rikṣā</i> < Jap. <i>jinrikṣa</i>
ரேக்கிளா	<i>rēkkiṭā</i> < H. <i>rahkalā</i>

## 11. COMMUNICATION

இன்சூர்	<i>insūr</i> < E. <i>insurance</i>
கடுதாசி	<i>kaḍutāsi</i> < A. <i>qarṭās</i>
கவர்	<i>kavar</i> < E. <i>cover</i>
கார்டு	<i>kārḍu</i> < E. <i>card</i>
தபால்	<i>tapāl</i> < H. <i>ṭappāl</i>
போஸ்டாபீசு	<i>pōst-āpīsu</i> < E. <i>post-office</i>
மணியாடர்	<i>maṇiyāḍar</i> < E. <i>money-order</i>
ரிஜிஸ்தர்	<i>rijistar</i> < E. <i>register</i> = <i>registered letter</i>
லக்கோடா	<i>lakkōḍā</i> < H. <i>lakhōṭā</i>
லேபில்	<i>lēbil</i> < E. <i>label</i>
லெட்டர்	<i>leṭṭar</i> < E. <i>letter</i>

## 12. BUSINESS

அட்வான்சு	<i>advāṇsu</i> < E. <i>advance</i>
அட்டவணை	<i>aṭṭavaṇai</i> < Mhr. <i>athavaṇa</i>
ஆண்டிமாண்டு	<i>āṇḍimāṇḍu</i> < E. <i>on demand</i>
உண்டியல்	<i>uṇḍiyal</i> < H. <i>hunḍī</i>
கசர்	<i>kasar</i> < A. <i>qaṣr</i> or <i>kasr</i>
கசாப்பு	<i>kasāppu</i> < A. <i>qaṣṣāb</i>
கரார்	<i>karār</i> < A. <i>qarār</i>
கண்டிராக்ட்டு	<i>kaṇḍirākkaṭṭu</i> < E. <i>contract</i>

கிட்டங்கி	<i>kiṭṭaṅgi</i> < Malay. <i>gaḍong</i> <sup>72</sup>
குசிலி	<i>kusili</i> < A. <i>ghuzlī</i>
சந்தா	<i>candā</i> < P. <i>candā</i>
சவுக்கார்	<i>cavukkār</i> < H. <i>sāhūkār</i>
சிராப்பு	<i>cirāppu</i> < A. <i>ṣarrāf</i>
சிலாவணி	<i>cilāvani</i> < H. <i>calānā</i>
சிட்டை	<i>ciṭṭai</i> < H. <i>citthā</i>
டெண்டர்	<i>ṭeṇḍar</i> < E. <i>tender</i>
டிப்பாசிட்டு	<i>tippāsiṭṭu</i> < E. <i>deposit</i>
தராசு	<i>tarāsu</i> < P. <i>tarāzū</i>
தினுசு	<i>tinusu</i> < A. <i>jins</i>
தினுசுவாரி	<i>tinusuvāri</i> < A. <i>jins</i> + P. <i>wār</i>
துபாஷ்	<i>tubāṣ</i> < H. <i>dobāshī</i>
பட்டியல்	<i>paṭṭiyal</i> < H. <i>paṭṭī</i>
பண்டு	<i>paṇḍu</i> < E. <i>fund</i>
பசார்	<i>pasār</i> < P. <i>bāzār</i>
மகமை	<i>mahamai</i> < A. <i>muhimm</i>
மேஸ்திரி	<i>mēstiri</i> < Port. <i>mestre</i> <sup>73</sup>
மார்க்கட்டு	<i>mārkkāṭṭu</i> < E. <i>market</i>
மௌசு	<i>mausu</i> < A. <i>mawj</i>
நிரக்கு	<i>nirakku</i> < P. <i>nīrkḥ</i> , <i>narkḥ</i>
ரகம்	<i>raham</i> < A. <i>raqm</i>
வட்டம்	<i>vaṭṭam</i> < H. <i>baṭṭā</i>
வங்கி	<i>vaṅgi</i> < E. <i>bank</i>
லாலா	<i>lālā</i> < H. <i>lālā</i>
லேவாதேவி	<i>lēvādēvi</i> < H. <i>lēnā-dēnā</i>

72. The Malay word *gaḍong* is a corruption of the Tamil *kiḍaṅgu*. The expression *roṭṭi-k-kiḍaṅgu* is still in common use in the southern districts. See Hobson-Jobson.

73. *Mēstiri* generally denotes a tailor and sometimes a superintendent in road-mēstiri.

### 13. WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

அந்தர்	<i>andar</i> < E. <i>hundred weight</i>
டன்	<i>ṭan</i> < E. <i>ton</i>
கண்டி	<i>kaṇḍi</i> < Mhr. <i>khaṇḍil</i>
காரட்டு	<i>kāraṭṭu</i> < A. <i>qirrāt</i>
தோலா	<i>tōlā</i> < H. <i>tōla</i>
ராத்தல்	<i>rāttal</i> < A. <i>raṭl</i>
இஞ்சு	<i>iñju</i> < E. <i>inch</i>
கெசம்	<i>kesam</i> < P. <i>gaz</i>
பர்லாங்கு	<i>parlāṅgu</i> < E. <i>furlong</i>
மைல்	<i>mail</i> < E. <i>mile</i>
ஏக்கர்	<i>ēkkar</i> < E. <i>acre</i>
செண்டு	<i>ceṇḍu</i> < E. <i>cent</i>
டசன்	<i>ḍasan</i> < E. <i>dozen</i>
தஸ்தா	<i>tastā</i> < P. <i>dasta</i>
கொயர்	<i>koyar</i> < E. <i>quire</i>
ரீம்	<i>rīm</i> < E. <i>ream</i> (A. <i>rizma</i> )

### 14. CURRENCY

அணா	<i>aṇā</i> < H. <i>āna</i>
தம்பிடி	<i>tambiḍi</i> < H. <i>damṛi</i>
செக்கு	<i>cekku</i> < E. <i>cheque</i>
பவன்	<i>pavan</i> < E. <i>pound</i>
பைசா	<i>paisā</i> < H. <i>paysā</i>

### 15. ADMINISTRATION

#### (a) Revenue

அசல்	<i>asal</i> < A. <i>aṣl</i>
அத்து	<i>attu</i> < A. <i>ḥadd</i>
அம்பாரம்	<i>ambāram</i> < P. <i>anbār</i>
அமுல்	<i>amul</i> < A. <i>‘amal</i>
அமானத்து	<i>amāṇattu</i> < A. <i>amānat</i>

அயன்	<i>ayan</i> < A. 'ayn
அர்ஜி	<i>arji</i> < P. 'arḡī, A. 'arḡ
ஆகேர்	<i>āhēr</i> < A. <i>ākhir</i>
ஆசாமி	<i>āsāmi</i> < A. <i>asāmī</i>
ஆப்காரி	<i>ābkārī</i> < P. <i>āb-kārī</i>
ஆசில்	<i>āsīl</i> < A. <i>ḥāṣīl</i>
இனம்	<i>inām</i> < A. <i>in'ām</i>
இருசால்	<i>irusāl</i> < A. <i>irsāl</i>
உசூர்	<i>usūr</i> < A. <i>ḥuzūr</i>
ஐமாசு	<i>aimāsu</i> < P. <i>azmāyish</i>
ஐவேசு	<i>aivēsu</i> < A. 'iwaz
கம்மி	<i>kammi</i> < P. <i>kamī</i>
கசனா	<i>kasānā</i> < A. <i>khizāna</i>
கவுல்	<i>kavul</i> < A. <i>qawl</i>
கலெக்டர்	<i>kalecṭar</i> < E. <i>collector</i>
காயம்	<i>kāyam</i> < A. <i>qā'im</i>
கார்வார்	<i>kārvār</i> < P. <i>kāru-bār</i>
கானுகோ	<i>kānugō</i> < P. <i>qānūn-gō</i>
கிபாயத்து	<i>kibāyattu</i> < A. <i>kifāyat</i>
கிஸ்து	<i>kistu</i> < A. <i>qist</i>
குமாஸ்தா	<i>kumāstā</i> < P. <i>gumāshṭa</i>
கேது	<i>kēdu</i> < H. <i>khēt</i>
கைது	<i>kaidu</i> < A. <i>qayd</i>
கொத்துவால்	<i>kottuvāl</i> < P. <i>kotwāl</i>
கோஸ்பாரா	<i>kōspārā</i> < P. <i>gōshwāra</i>
சடுதி	<i>caḍuti</i> < H. <i>jharti</i>
சரகம்	<i>carakam</i> <sup>74</sup> < P. <i>sar</i> + A. <i>ḥadd</i>

74. Probably the original form carahattu was changed into carakam owing to the mistaken notion that attu was an inflectional increment of the noun terminating in am. In Tamil, nouns having the termination am usually take the inflectional increment attu in declension. (See Caldwell's Comparative Grammar, p. 265).



சரத்து	<i>carattu</i> < A. <i>shar t</i>
சராசரி	<i>carāsari</i> < P. <i>sarāsari</i>
சிரஸ்தார்	<i>cirastār</i> < P. <i>sarrishtadār</i>
செலான்	<i>celān</i> < H. <i>calān</i>
செட்டில்மெண்டு	<i>ceṭṭilmeṇḍu</i> < E. <i>settlement</i>
டேரா	<i>ḍērā</i> < H. <i>dērā</i>
டேமணி	<i>ḍēmaṇi</i> < E. <i>ready money</i>
தணிக்கை	<i>taṇikkai</i> < A. <i>taniqya</i>
தபசில்	<i>tapasil</i> < A. <i>taḥṣil</i>
தஸ்தி	<i>tasti</i> < A. <i>taṣadduq</i>
தர்க்காஸ்து	<i>tarkkāstu</i> < P. <i>darkhāst</i>
தாக்கீது	<i>tākkīdu</i> < A. <i>ta'kīd</i>
தாக்கல்	<i>tākkal</i> < A. <i>dākhil</i>
தாசில்	<i>tāsil</i> < A. <i>taḥṣil</i>
பசலி	<i>pasali</i> < A. <i>faṣlī</i>
பந்தோஸ்து	<i>pandōstu</i> < P. <i>band-o-bast</i>
பட்டா	<i>paṭṭā</i> < H. <i>paṭṭā</i>
பாக்கி	<i>pākki</i> < A. <i>bāqī</i>
பாவத்து	<i>pāvattu</i> < P. <i>bābat</i>
பிசானம்	<i>pisānam</i> < T. <i>pisānamu</i>
பிளாமி	<i>piṇāmi</i> < P. <i>banāmī</i>
நகது	<i>nahadu</i> < A. <i>naqd</i>
நகல்	<i>nahal</i> < E. <i>naql</i>
நவுக்கர்	<i>navukkar</i> < P. <i>nawkar</i>
மசரா	<i>masarā</i> < A. <i>mazra'</i>
மராமத்து	<i>marāmattu</i> < A. <i>marammat</i>
மாகூல்	<i>māsūl</i> < A. <i>maḥṣūl</i>
மாமூல்	<i>māmūl</i> < A. <i>ma'mūl</i>
மிட்டா	<i>miṭṭhā</i> < H. <i>miṭṭhā</i> (A. <i>maq t a'</i> )
மிராசு	<i>mirāsu</i> < A. <i>mīrāth</i>
முகாம்	<i>muḥām</i> < A. <i>mahāmm</i>
முச்சலிக்கா	<i>muccalikkā</i> < Tur. <i>muchalkā</i>

ரசீது	<i>rasīdu</i> < P. <i>rasīd</i> . E. receipt
ரயத்து	<i>rayattu</i> < A. <i>ra'iyat</i>
ரப்பட்டா	<i>rappattā</i> < E. rough + H. <i>paṭṭā</i>
ரொக்கம்	<i>rokkam</i> < A. <i>raqm</i>
வசூல்	<i>vasūl</i> < A. <i>waṣūl</i>
வசா	<i>vasā</i> < A. <i>waṣ'</i>
வாபீசு	<i>vāpīsu</i> < P. <i>wāpas</i>
வாரீசு	<i>vārīsu</i> < A. <i>wārith</i>
வாயிதா	<i>vāyidā</i> < A. <i>wa'da</i>
வாரண்டு	<i>vāraṇḍu</i> < E. warrant
ஜப்தி	<i>japti</i> < A. <i>ḡab tī</i>
ஜமீன்	<i>jamīn</i> < P. <i>zamīn</i>
ஜவாப்	<i>javāb</i> < A. <i>jawāb</i>
ஜமாபந்தி	<i>jamābandi</i> < A. <i>jam'</i> + P. <i>bandī</i>
ஜாரி	<i>jāri</i> < A. <i>jārī</i>
ஜாமீன்	<i>jāmīn</i> < A. <i>ḡāmin</i>
ஜாஸ்தி	<i>jāsti</i> < A. <i>ḡā'id</i>
ஷரா	<i>ṣarā</i> < A. <i>shar'</i>

## (b) JUDICIAL

அமினா	<i>aminā</i> < A. <i>amīn</i>
அசெசர்	<i>asesar</i> < E. assessor
அவிடவிட்டு	<i>aviḍaviṭṭu</i> < E. affidavit
அப்பீல்	<i>appīl</i> < E. appeal
ஆசர்	<i>āsar</i> < A. <i>ḡāṣir</i>
இன்சால்மெண்டு	<i>insālmeṇḍu</i> < E. insolvent
இஸ்தியார்	<i>istiyār</i> < A. <i>ishtiḡār</i>
ஈரங்கி	<i>īraṅgi</i> < E. hearing
ஏலம்	<i>ēlam</i> < Port. <i>leilão</i>
உயில்	<i>uyil</i> < E. will
கச்சேரி	<i>kaccēri</i> < H. <i>kacahrī</i>
கிரிமினல்	<i>kirimiṇal</i> < E. criminal

கேடி	<i>kēḍi</i> < E. <i>k. d.</i> = known depredator
கேசு	<i>kēsu</i> < E. <i>case</i>
கைதி	<i>kaidi</i> = A. <i>qaydi</i>
கொட்டடி	<i>koṭṭaḍi</i> > H. <i>koṭhrī</i>
கோர்ட்டு	<i>kōrṭṭu</i> < E. <i>court</i>
சம்மன்	<i>camman</i> < E. <i>summons</i>
சீவில்	<i>civil</i> < E. <i>civil</i>
டபேதார்	<i>ḍābēdār</i> < P. <i>daṣṭardār</i>
டலாயத்து	<i>ḍalāyattu</i> < H. <i>ḍhalit</i>
டவாலி	<i>ṭavālī</i> < P. <i>duwālī</i>
டிக்கிரி	<i>ṭikkiri</i> < E. <i>decree</i>
தகரார்	<i>taharār</i> < A. <i>takrār</i>
தகதா	<i>tahatā</i> < A. <i>taqāḍā</i>
தண்டோரா	<i>taṇḍōrā</i> < H. <i>dhanḍhōrā</i>
தமுக்கு	<i>tamukku</i> < H. <i>dhamk</i>
தரப்பு	<i>tarappu</i> < A. <i>ṭaraf</i>
தஸ்தாவேசு	<i>tastāvesu</i> < P. <i>dast-āvēz</i>
தாவா	<i>tāvā</i> < A. <i>da'wa</i>
திவால்	<i>tivāl</i> < H. <i>diwālā</i>
பஞ்சாயத்து	<i>pañṣāyattu</i> < H. <i>pañcāyat</i>
பிராது	<i>pirādu</i> < P. <i>faryād</i>
புகார்	<i>puhār</i> < H. <i>pukār</i>
புரோனோட்டு	<i>purō-nōṭṭu</i> < E. <i>pro-note</i> = Promissory note
பீசு	<i>pīsu</i> < E. <i>fees</i>
பெட்டிஷன்	<i>peṭṭiṣan</i> < E. <i>petition</i>
பென்ஷன்	<i>penṣan</i> < E. <i>pension</i>
பைசல்	<i>paisal</i> < A. <i>fayṣal</i>
நாசர்	<i>nāsar</i> < A. <i>nāẓir</i>
நோட்டீசு	<i>nōṭṭīsu</i> < E. <i>notice</i>
மவுண்டு	<i>mavunḍu</i> < E. <i>amount</i>
முனிசிப்பு	<i>munisīppu</i> < A. <i>munsīf</i>
மேசர்	<i>mēsar</i> < E. <i>major</i>

மேடோவர்	<i>mēḍōvar</i> < E. <i>made over</i>
மைனர்	<i>mainar</i> < E. <i>minor</i>
நம்பர் (வைத்தல்)	<i>nambar (vaittal)</i> < E. <i>number</i> + Ta. = filing a suit
ரத்து	<i>rattu</i> < A. <i>radd</i>
ராசி	<i>rāsi</i> < A. <i>rāzī</i>
ரிக்காடு	<i>rikkāḍu</i> < E. <i>record</i>
ருசு	<i>rusu</i> < A. <i>rujū</i>
ரூல்	<i>rūl</i> < E. <i>rule</i>
ரோக்கா	<i>rōkkā</i> < A. <i>ruq'a</i>
லாயர்	<i>lāyar</i> < E. <i>lawyer</i>
வக்காலத்து	<i>vakkālattu</i> < A. <i>wakālat</i>
வக்கீல்	<i>vakkīl</i> < A. <i>wakīl</i>
வில்லங்கம்	<i>villaṅgam</i> < Mhr. <i>vilaga</i>
ஜட்ஜ்	<i>jaḍj</i> < E. <i>judge</i>
ஜெயில்	<i>jeyil</i> < E. <i>jail</i>

## (c) POLITICAL

ஆபீசு	<i>āpīsu</i> < E. <i>office</i>
இலாக்கா	<i>ilakkā</i> < A. <i>ilāqa</i>
எலெக்ஷன்	<i>elecṣan</i> < E. <i>election</i>
எஸ்டேட்டு	<i>estēṭṭu</i> < E. <i>estate</i>
ஏசெண்டு	<i>ēseṇḍu</i> < E. <i>agent</i>
ஓட்டு	<i>ōṭṭu</i> < E. <i>vote</i>
கஸ்பா	<i>kaspā</i> < A. <i>qaṣba</i>
கவனர்	<i>kavanar</i> < E. <i>governor</i>
காவந்து	<i>kāvandu</i> < P. <i>khāwand</i>
சர்க்கார்	<i>carkkāṛ</i> < P. <i>sarkār</i>
சர்க்கிள்	<i>carkkiḷ</i> < E. <i>circle</i>
சன்னது	<i>caṇṇadu</i> < A. <i>sanad</i>
சம்பிரதி	<i>cambiradi</i> < T. <i>samprati</i>
சப்ரோட்டம்	<i>caprōṭṭam</i> < E. <i>sub. pro. temp.</i>

சாவடி	<i>cāvaḍi</i> < Mhr. <i>sāvaṣi</i>
சிப்பந்தி	<i>cippandi</i> < P. <i>sih-bandī</i>
சில்	<i>cīl</i> < E. <i>seal</i>
சூப்பிரண்டு	<i>cūppiraṇḍu</i> < E. <i>superintendent</i>
செண்டா	<i>ceṇḍā</i> < H. <i>jhaṇḍā</i>
தர்பார்	<i>tarbār</i> < P. <i>darbār</i>
தாக்கீது	<i>tākkītu</i> < A. <i>ta'kid</i>
தாலுகா	<i>tālukā</i> < A. <i>ta'alluq</i>
திவான்	<i>tivān</i> < P. <i>dīwān</i>
பகதூர்	<i>bahadūr</i> < H. <i>bahādur</i>
பட்வாடா	<i>paṭvāḍā</i> < H. <i>baṭwārā</i>
பாவட்டா	<i>pāvaṭṭā</i> < H. <i>bāwṭā</i>
பவுண்டு	<i>pavunḍu</i> < E. <i>pound</i>
பிதிவி	<i>pidivi</i> < A. <i>fidwī</i>
பிர்க்கா	<i>pirkkā</i> < A. <i>firqa</i>
பியூன்	<i>piyūn</i> < E. <i>peon</i>
பேட்டி	<i>pēṭṭi</i> < H. <i>bheṭī</i>
போலீசு	<i>pōlīsu</i> < E. <i>police</i>
வேவு	<i>vēvu</i> < Port. <i>vêu</i>
மசோதா	<i>masōdā</i> < A. <i>musawwada</i>
மாகாணம்	<i>māhāṇam</i> < A. <i>makān?</i>
மாசர்	<i>māsar</i> < A. <i>maḥzar</i>
மாப்பு	<i>māppu</i> < A. <i>mu'āf</i>
மாஜி	<i>māji</i> < A. <i>māzī</i>
மொகர்	<i>mohar</i> < P. <i>muhr</i>
மேஸ்திரட்டு	<i>mēstiraṭṭu</i> < E. <i>magistrate</i>
மொச்சி	<i>mocci</i> < H. <i>mochī</i>
முனிஷி	<i>munīṣi</i> < A. <i>mūnshī</i>
யாதாஸ்து	<i>yādāstu</i> < P. <i>yād-dāshṭ</i>
ரோந்து, லோந்து	<i>rōndu, lōndu</i> < P. <i>rawanda</i>
ஜில்லா	<i>jillā</i> < A. <i>zīl'a</i>
ராஜா	<i>rajā</i> < A. <i>rizā'</i> , P. <i>rizā</i>

## 16. STATIONERY

காகிதம்	<i>kāhidam</i> < P. <i>kāghidh</i>
கிளிப்பு	<i>kiḷippu</i> < E. <i>clip</i>
கோந்து	<i>kōndu</i> < H. <i>gōnd</i>
பென்சில்	<i>pensil</i> < E. <i>pencil</i>
பேப்பர்	<i>pēppar</i> < E. <i>paper</i>
பேனா	<i>pēnā</i> < E. <i>pen</i> , Port. <i>pena</i>
பின்	<i>pin</i> < E. <i>pin</i>
பிளாட்டிங்கு	<i>piḷāṭṭiṅgu</i> < E. <i>blotting paper</i>
நிப்பு	<i>nippu</i> < E. <i>nib</i>
ஸ்டீல்	<i>sṭīl</i> < E. <i>steel nib</i>
ரப்பர்	<i>rappar</i> < E. <i>rubber</i>

## 17. ARMY

சிப்பாய்	<i>sippāy</i> < P. <i>sipāhī</i>
டங்கா	<i>daṅgā</i> < H. <i>ḍankā</i>
டானா, தானா	<i>ṭānā, tānā</i> < H. <i>ṭhānā</i>
துப்பாக்கி	<i>tuppākki</i> < P. <i>tupak</i> , Tur. <i>tōp</i>
துருப்பு	<i>turuppu</i> < E. <i>troop</i>
தோட்டா	<i>tōṭṭā</i> < H. <i>ṭōṭā</i>
சோட்டா	<i>cōṭṭā</i> < H. <i>sōnṭā</i>
பட்டாளம்	<i>paṭṭāḷam</i> < E. <i>battalion</i>
பாரா	<i>pārā</i> < P. <i>pahra</i>
பீரங்கி	<i>pīraṅgi</i> < P. <i>frangī</i> , <i>firangī</i>
அம்பாரி	<i>ambāri</i> < A. <i>‘imārī</i>
ஏட்டு	<i>ēṭṭu</i> < E. <i>head constable</i>
மாவுத்தன்	<i>māvuttan</i> < H. <i>mahāwat</i>
சர்தார்	<i>cardār</i> < P. <i>sardār</i>
சவாரி	<i>cavāri</i> < P. <i>suvārī</i>
சவுக்கு	<i>cavukku</i> < P. <i>cābuk</i>
சுபேதார்	<i>cubēdār</i> < P. <i>sūbadār</i>

சேணம்	<i>cēṇam</i> < P. <i>zīn</i>
ரிவால்வர்	<i>riṇḍālvār</i> < E. <i>revolver</i>
ராவுத்தன்	<i>rāvuttan</i> > H. <i>rāut</i>
லகான்	<i>lahān</i> < P. <i>lagām</i>
லத்தி	<i>latti</i> < H. <i>laṭhī</i>
லாயம்	<i>lāyam</i> < A. <i>līm?</i>

## 18. GAMES AND PHYSICAL EXERCISE

சீட்டு	<i>cīṭṭu</i> < E. <i>chit</i> (H. <i>chīṭṭhī</i> )
ஆசு	<i>ācu</i> < F. <i>as</i>
ஆடுதன்	<i>āḍutan</i> < E. <i>hearts</i>
இஸ்பேட்	<i>iṣṭēṭ</i> < E. <i>spades</i>
கோட்டு	<i>kōṭṭu</i> < E. <i>court-card</i>
கிளாவர்	<i>kiḷāvar</i> < E. <i>clover</i>
சாக்கி (ஜாக்கி)	<i>cākki</i> < (jākki) < E. <i>jack</i>
டைமன்	<i>ḍaiṁan</i> < E. <i>diamond</i>
துருப்பு	<i>turuppu</i> < E. <i>trump</i>
ஆக்கி	<i>ākki</i> < E. <i>hockey</i>
கிரிக்கெட்டு	<i>kirikkēṭṭu</i> < E. <i>cricket</i>
டென்னீஸ்	<i>teṇṇīs</i> < E. <i>tennis</i>
கசரத்து	<i>kasarattu</i> < A. <i>kasrat</i>
கவாத்து	<i>kavāttu</i> < A. <i>qawāyid</i>
தண்டால்	<i>taṇḍāl</i> < H. <i>ḍaṇḍ</i>
பல்டி	<i>balṭi</i> < H. <i>palatnā</i>
பஸ்கி	<i>baski</i> < P. <i>bāzū?</i>
பஞ்சா	<i>pañjā</i> < P. <i>panc</i>
பயில்வான்	<i>bayilvān</i> < P. <i>pahlawān</i>
வஸ்தாது	<i>vastādu</i> < P. <i>ustād</i>
ஜவான்	<i>javān</i> < P. <i>jawān</i>

## 19. NAVIGATION

சுக்கான்	<i>cukkān</i> < A. <i>sukkān</i>
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நங்குரம்	<i>naṅguram</i> < P. <i>langar</i>
மாலுமி	<i>mālumi</i> < A. <i>mu'allim</i>

## 20. RELIGION

அல்லா	<i>allā</i> < A. <i>allāh</i>
குரான்	<i>kurāṇ</i> < A. <i>qurān</i>
மசூதி	<i>masūdi</i> < A. <i>masjid</i>
மகந்து	<i>mahandu</i> < H. <i>mahant</i> , <i>mahat</i>
முகம்மது	<i>muhammadu</i> < A. <i>muḥammad</i>
மொகரம்	<i>moharam</i> < A. <i>muḥarram</i>
நபி	<i>napi</i> < A. <i>nabī</i>
சேசு	<i>sēsu</i> < E. <i>Jesus</i>
கிறிஸ்து	<i>kiṛistu</i> < E. <i>christ</i>
கந்திரி	<i>kandiri</i> < H. <i>kandūrī</i>
சிலுவை	<i>ciluvai</i> < Syr. <i>sliba</i>
தைக்கா	<i>taikkā</i> < A. <i>takya</i>
தசரா	<i>tasarā</i> < H. <i>dasahrā</i>
பக்கிரி	<i>pakkiri</i> < A. <i>faqīr</i>
பாதிரி	<i>pādiri</i> < Port. <i>padre</i>
பைபிள்	<i>baibiḷ</i> < E. <i>bible</i>
பாப்பு	<i>pāppu</i> < Port. <i>papa</i>
பீர்	<i>pīr</i> < P. <i>pīr</i>
யூதர்	<i>yūdar</i> < A. <i>yahūd</i>

## 21. MUSIC

கஞ்சிரா	<i>kañjirā</i> < H. <i>khanjan</i>
சித்தார்	<i>sittār</i> < P. <i>sih-tār</i>
ஏகதார்	<i>ēhadār</i> < P. <i>ēk-tāra</i>
தம்பூர்	<i>tambūr</i> < P. <i>ṭanbūr</i>
டோலக்	<i>ḍōlak</i> < H. <i>dōlak</i>
தில்லுபா	<i>tilrūbā</i> < H. <i>dil-rūbā</i>
தாவுஷ்	<i>tāvuṣ</i> < H. <i>taush</i>



தபலா	<i>tapalā</i> < A. <i>tabla</i>
தவல்	<i>taval</i> < A. <i>tabl</i>
ஆர்மோனியம்	<i>ārmōṇiyam</i> < F. <i>harmonie</i> , E. <i>harmonium</i>
கர்னா	<i>karnā</i> < P. <i>karranāy</i>
பியானா	<i>piyāṇā</i> < E. <i>piano</i>
ஜாலர்	<i>jālar</i> < H. <i>jhālarī</i>
பிட்டில்	<i>piṭṭil</i> < E. <i>fiddle</i>
புளுட்டு	<i>puḷuṭṭu</i> < E. <i>flute</i>
கமாஸ்	<i>kamās</i> < A. <i>khumāsī</i>
சகானா	<i>sahāṇā</i> < H. <i>sāhanā</i>
தில்லானா	<i>tillāṇā</i> < P. <i>tarāna</i>
மாண்டு	<i>māṇḍu</i> < H. <i>māṇḍ</i>
லாவணி	<i>lāvaṇi</i> < Mhr. <i>lāvaṇi</i>

## 22. COLOURS

ஊதா	<i>ūdā</i> < H. <i>ūdā</i>
காக்கி	<i>kākki</i> < P. <i>khāki</i>
குசும்பா	<i>kusumbā</i> < H. <i>kusumbi</i>
ரோசு	<i>rōsu</i> < E. <i>rose</i>

## 23. MEDICINE

ஆஸ்பத்திரி	<i>āspattiri</i> < E. <i>hospital</i>
ஆப்பரேஷன்	<i>āpparēṣaṇ</i> < E. <i>operation</i>
கொயினா	<i>koyinā</i> < E. <i>quinine</i>
சீக்கு	<i>cīkku</i> < E. <i>sick</i>
தெரசர்	<i>terasar</i> < E. <i>dresser</i>
யூனானி	<i>yūnāṇi</i> < A. <i>yūnānī</i>
டானிக்கு	<i>ṭāṇikkū</i> < E. <i>tonic</i>
டாக்டர்	<i>ḍākṭar</i> > E. <i>doctor</i>
பெனயில்	<i>peṇayil</i> < E. <i>phenyl</i>

## 24. MISCELLANEOUS

(a) *Persian, Arabic and Hindustani Words*

அந்தஸ்து	<i>andastu</i> < P. <i>ham-dast</i>
அலாதி	<i>alādi</i> < A. ‘ <i>alā-ḥida</i>
அலுக்கா	<i>alukkā</i> < A. <i>hikka</i>
இஸ்திரி	<i>istiri</i> < H. <i>istrī</i> , Port. <i>estirar</i>
உசார்	<i>usār</i> < E. <i>hushyār</i>
உடான்	<i>uḍān</i> < H. <i>urāna</i>
உருட்டா	<i>uruṭṭā</i> < H. <i>ulṭā</i>
கலாய்	<i>kalāy</i> < A. <i>qal‘ī</i>
கலாட்டா	<i>kalāṭṭā</i> < A. <i>ghilāt</i>
காயலா	<i>kāyalā</i> < A. <i>kāhil</i>
காப்ரா	<i>kāprā</i> < H. <i>ghabrī</i>
காலி	<i>kālī</i> < A. <i>khāli</i>
காவாலி	<i>kāvālī</i> < A. <i>qawwāl</i>
கிபாயத்து	<i>kipāyattu</i> < A. <i>kifāyat</i>
குஷால்	<i>kuṣāl</i> < P. <i>khush</i> + A. <i>ḥāl</i>
கோஷா	<i>kōṣā</i> < P. <i>gosha-nishīn</i>
குஷி	<i>kuṣi</i> < P. <i>khushī</i>
கெடி	<i>keḍi</i> < H. <i>garh</i>
கோட்டா	<i>kōṭṭā</i> < P. <i>kōtāh</i>
கோஸ்மாஸ்	<i>kōsmās</i> < H. <i>gōl-māl</i>
சக்காத்து	<i>cakkāttu</i> < A. <i>zakāt</i>
சகலன்	<i>sahalan</i> <sup>75</sup> < H. <i>sālā</i>
சதாய்	<i>catāy</i> < H. <i>satānā</i>
சல்லிசு	<i>sallisū</i> < A. <i>salīs</i>
சலாம்	<i>salām</i> < A. <i>salām</i>

75. In H. *sālā* denotes wife's brother. In Tamil *sahalan* is ordinarily used to denote wife's sister's husband.

சுவால்	<i>cavāl</i> < A. <i>su'āl</i>
சபாஷ்	<i>cabāṣ</i> < P. <i>shād-bāsh</i>
சவுக்கை	<i>cavukkai</i> < H. <i>cauk</i>
சவுடால்	<i>cavudāl</i> < H. <i>jhawṛā</i>
சாப்பா	<i>cāppā</i> < A. <i>ṣāf</i>
சால்சாப்பு	<i>sālsāppu</i> < A. <i>su'āl-jawāb</i>
சாலக்கு	<i>cālakku</i> < P. <i>cālāk</i>
சாமான்	<i>cāmān</i> < P. <i>sāmān</i>
சாடா	<i>cāḍā</i> < H. <i>sārā</i>
சாய்பு	<i>sāybu</i> < A. <i>sāhib</i>
சிபார்சு	<i>sibārsu</i> < P. <i>siḥārish</i>
சுமார்	<i>sumār</i> < P. <i>shumār</i>
சைத்தான்	<i>syttān</i> < A. <i>shaytān</i>
சொஸ்தி	<i>sosti</i> < P. <i>sustī</i>
சோக்கிரா	<i>cōkkirā</i> < P. <i>chōkrā</i>
சோதா	<i>cōdā</i> < A. <i>shuhadā</i>
ிக்கு	<i>ḥikku</i> < H. <i>ḥīk</i>
டோபி	<i>dōbi</i> < H. <i>dhobī</i>
தகவல்	<i>tahaval</i> < A. <i>dakhl</i>
தபா	<i>tapā</i> < A. <i>daf'a</i>
தம்	<i>tam</i> < P. <i>dam</i>
தமாஷ்	<i>tamāṣ</i> < A. <i>tamāshā</i>
தயார்	<i>tayār</i> < P. <i>tayār</i> . A. <i>tayyār</i>
தரியாவத்து	<i>tariyāvattu</i> < P. <i>daryāft</i>
தருதுது	<i>tarutūtu</i> A. <i>taraddud</i>
தண்டா	<i>taṇḍā</i> < H. <i>daṇḍā</i>
தகன் (தான்)	<i>tahan</i> ( <i>tān</i> ) < H. <i>thān</i>
தாஜா	<i>tājā</i> < P. <i>tāza</i>
திவாளி	<i>tivāḥi</i> < H. <i>diwālī</i>
நகரா	<i>naharā</i> < A. <i>naqāra</i>
நபர்	<i>naḥar</i> < A. <i>naḥar</i>

பக்கா	<i>pakkā</i> < H. <i>pakkā</i>
பசுந்து	<i>pasundu</i> < P. <i>pasand</i>
பதில்	<i>padil</i> < A. <i>badl</i>
பம்மாத்து	<i>pammāttu</i> < P. <i>bīmnāk</i> ?
பல்டி	<i>palṭi</i> < H. <i>palṭā</i>
பரவா	<i>paravā</i> < P. <i>parwā</i>
பவுசு	<i>pavusu</i> < A. <i>fawz</i>
பாவத்து	<i>pāvattu</i> < P. <i>bābat</i>
பீச்சா (க்கத்தி)	<i>pīccā-(k-katti)</i> < H. <i>bichu'ā</i> + Ta.
புட்டா	<i>puṭṭā</i> < H. <i>būṭā</i>
பூரா	<i>pūrā</i> < H. <i>pūrā</i>
பைதா	<i>pydā</i> < H. <i>paiyā</i>
மத்தாப்பு	<i>mattāppu</i> < P. <i>māhtāb</i>
மைதானம்	<i>maidānam</i> < A. <i>maydān</i>
முஸ்திப்பு	<i>mustippu</i> < A. <i>musta'idd</i>
மைனா	<i>mainā</i> < H. <i>mainā</i>
யாது	<i>yādu</i> < P. <i>yād</i>
ரஸ்தா	<i>rastā</i> < P. <i>rāstā</i>
லகாய்	<i>lahāy</i> < H. <i>lagānā</i>
லடாய்	<i>laḍāy</i> < <i>laṛā'i</i>
லாகு	<i>lāhu</i> < H. <i>lāgū</i>
லாயக்கு	<i>lāyakku</i> < A. <i>lā'iq</i>
வகையரா	<i>vahaiyarā</i> < P. <i>wa-ghairah</i> < A. <i>wa-ghayruhu</i>
வாத்து	<i>vāttu</i> < A. <i>ba t</i>
வதலி	<i>vadali</i> < A. <i>faṣlī</i> ?
ஜமா	<i>jamā</i> < A. <i>jam'</i>
ஜரூர்	<i>jarūr</i> < A. <i>zarūr</i>
ஜல்தி	<i>jaldi</i> < P. <i>jaldī</i>
ஜவாப்	<i>javāb</i> < A. <i>jawāb</i>
ஜாகை	<i>jāhai</i> < H. <i>jaga</i>
ஜாப்தா	<i>jābtā</i> < A. <i>zābi tā</i>

ஜெப்பு	<i>jēppu</i> < A. <i>jayb</i> P. <i>jeb</i>
ஜோர்	<i>jōr</i> < P. <i>zōr</i>
ஜோடனை	<i>jōḍanai</i> < H. <i>jōṛ</i>
ஷோக்கு	<i>ṣōkku</i> < A. <i>shawq</i>

(b) English words

எனாமல்	<i>enāmal</i> < E. <i>enamel</i>
ஏட்டு	<i>ēṭṭu</i> < E. <i>head</i>
ஓட்டல்	<i>ōṭṭal</i> < H. <i>hotel</i>
கலம்	<i>kalam</i> < E. <i>column</i>
கலர்	<i>kalar</i> < E. <i>colour</i>
கிலுத்து	<i>kiluṭṭu</i> < E. <i>gild, gilt</i>
கிளப்பு	<i>kiḷappu</i> < E. <i>club</i>
குளோசு	<i>kulōsu</i> < E. <i>close</i>
டிக்கட்டு	<i>ṭikkaṭṭu</i> < E. <i>ticket</i>
டிராமா	<i>ḍirāmā</i> < E. <i>drama</i>
டான்சு	<i>ḍāṇsu</i> < E. <i>dance</i>
டிரங்கு	<i>ṭiraṅgu</i> < E. <i>trunk</i>
டோல்கேட்டு	<i>ṭōl-kēṭṭu</i> < E. <i>toll-gate</i>
பாசு	<i>pāsu</i> < E. <i>pass</i>
பீசு	<i>pīsu</i> < E. <i>piece</i>
பில்லு	<i>pillu</i> < E. <i>bill</i>
பிளான்	<i>piḷāṇ</i> < E. <i>plan</i>
போர்டு	<i>pōrḍu</i> < E. <i>board</i>
பைண்டு	<i>paiṇḍu</i> < E. <i>bind</i>
நம்பர்	<i>nambar</i> < E. <i>number</i>
நாட்டு	<i>nāṭṭu</i> < E. <i>naught (zero)</i>
நோட்டு	<i>nōṭṭu</i> < E. <i>note</i>
நைசு	<i>naisu</i> < E. <i>nice</i>
மார்க்கு	<i>mārkkku</i> < E. <i>mark</i>
மிசி	<i>miṣi</i> < E. <i>miss</i>

மெயில்	<i>meyil</i> < E. <i>mail</i>
மெம்பர்	<i>membar</i> < E. <i>member</i>
ரிப்பேர்	<i>rippēr</i> < E. <i>repair</i>
ராங்கி	<i>rāṅgi</i> < E. <i>rank</i>
ரோட்டு	<i>rōṭṭu</i> < E. <i>road</i>
லீவு	<i>livu</i> < E. <i>leave</i>
லைசன்சு	<i>laisēnsu</i> < E. <i>license</i>

## (c) Cognate words

ஏப்பிராசி	<i>ēppirāsi</i> < T. <i>ēbhrāsi</i>
ஓசரம் கோசரம்	<i>ōsaram</i> } < T. <i>kōsaramu</i> <i>kōsaram</i>
சலவை	<i>calavai</i> < T. <i>tcalava</i> = bleaching
சலவை	<i>calavai</i> < T. <i>tcaluppa</i> = marble
சந்தடி	<i>cantaḍi</i> < T. <i>sandaḍi</i>
சிப்பம்	<i>cippam</i> < T. <i>cippamu</i>
சீண்டரம்	<i>cīṇḍaram</i> < T. <i>jīndramu</i>
சொட்டை	<i>coṭṭai</i> < T. <i>soḍḍu</i>
திமிசு	<i>timisu</i> < T. <i>dimmisa</i> = rammer
துரைசாணி	<i>turaisāṇi</i> < T. <i>dorasānī</i>
தெம்பு	<i>tembu</i> < T. <i>tempu</i> = bravery
பிலுக்கு	<i>pilukku</i> < T. <i>beḷuku</i>
புருடா	<i>puruḍā</i> < T. <i>buruḍā</i>
ரகளை	<i>rahaḷai</i> < K. <i>ragaḷe</i>

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## *Works referred to in this book*

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A storm in a tea-cup goes by the name of *amaḷi* (அமளி) in the popular parlance. *Amaḷi* is a corruption of *amalai* (அமலை);<sup>266</sup> (*amalai* > *amali* > *amaḷi*). In primitive warfare the soldiers used to gather round the fallen leader of the foemen on the battle-field and sing and dance in jollity. The tipsy dance of the victorious warriors was naturally tumultuous. Hence *amaḷi* denotes an up-roar or tumult.

The dance known as *kuravai* (குரவை) was a favourite amusement in ancient times.<sup>267</sup> The *kuravai* dance of the Kurava and the Shepherded girls are vividly described in Cilappadihāram.<sup>268</sup> *Kuravai* as a dance is unknown at present, but the word *kulavai*, a corruption of *kuravai*, exists in the plain vocabulary of the peasantry to remind us of the glories of the past. However, *kulavai* is far too attenuated and altered to be called even the ghost of its former self. The rattling sound *ulūlu* made by women standing together, on auspicious occasions, such as *Pōṅgal* and marriage, is now signified by the term *kulavai*.<sup>269</sup>

*Naḍam* (நடம்) and *naḍai* (நடை) are distinct words drawn from different sources. *Naḍam* signifies dance and *naḍai* denotes walk. The popular confusion between *naḍam*,<sup>270</sup> a corruption of the Sanskrit *naṭa* and *naḍai* derived from the Tamil root *naḍa* has led to the application of the term *naḍamāḍal* (நடமாடல்)<sup>271</sup> to walking, and *naḍamāṭṭam* (நடமாட்டம்) to the state of walking. Thus the sentence *naḍa māḍa muḍiyātu* (நடமாடமுடியாது) does not signify incapacity to dance but inability to walk.

266. தொல். பொருள். 72. உரை.

267. குரவையாவது எழுவரேனும் ஒன்பதின்மரேனும் கைகோத்தாடுங் கூத்து (சிலப். ஆய்ச்சியர்குரவை, அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் உரை).

268. குன்றக்குரவை—சிலப், 24. ஆய்ச்சியர் குரவை—சிலப். 17.

269. குலவை > குரவை. *Kulavai*—Chorus of shrill sounds made by women by wagging the tongue, uttered on festive occasions—Tamil Lexicon.

270. வானரங்கில் நடம்புரிவாள் இரவி—கம்ப. மிதிலைக்காட்சி. 153.

271. வலம்வந்த மடவார்கள் நடமாட முழுவதிர—தேவாரம், திருஞான சம்பந்தர், திருவையாற்றுப் பதிகம்.



## SECTION III

### *Discrimination of Synonyms*

Most of the synonyms commonly so called are really expressive of different aspects or qualities of the person or object denoted by them. The terms used with reference to the king, for instance, connote different aspects of royalty. The conception of the ancient Tamils that Royalty was an institution indispensable for the welfare of society is reflected in the word *mannan* (மன்னன்) which signifies the king. *Mannan* is derived from the root *man* (மன்) which denotes stability<sup>272</sup>. Monarchic institution was the supreme symbol of stability and continuity in the estimation of the ancient Tamil community.

The term *kāvalan* (காவலன்) obviously denotes the person who protects his subjects from internal and external enemies. The Protector of Dharma, according to a great religious poet, is styled *kāvalan*.<sup>273</sup>

*Vēndan* (வேந்தன்) is derived from a root which contains the sense of heat or fire. *Veyil*, *vēhu* and *vemmai* (வெயில், வேகு, வெம்மை) are derived from the same root. The king has to raise the rod with a severe brow for eradicating evil. It is significant that Tiruvalluvar employs the term *vēndu* when he refers to the king's duty of ruthlessly suppressing crimes and misdeeds in his country.<sup>274</sup>

*Korravan* (கொற்றவன்) is derived from the ultimate root *kol* (கொல்). Military prowess was an essential requisite for the king in

272. மன்னுயிர்ப் பன்மையும் கூற்றத் தொருமையும்—(புறம். 19-3). மன்னுயிர் = நிலைபெற்ற உயிர் (உரை); மன்னுவுலகத்து மன்னுதல் குறித்தோர், புறம். 165, 1.

273. மானிலங் காவல னுவான்...அறங்காப் பானல் லனோ—பெரியபுராணம், மனுநீதிகண்ட, 36.

274. கொலையிற் கொடியாரை வேந்து ஒறுத்தல்—திருக்குறள் 550.

primitive society. The preservation of the autonomy of the state and the perpetuation of royal power and prestige depended to a very large extent on the heroism of the king. The sovereign who was accorded a pre-eminent place in times of peace was expected to lead the army and bear the brunt of battle in times of war.

Similarly, the words which denote wealth appear at first sight to be simple synonyms but will be found on closer examination to express different aspects or concepts of wealth. The word *celvam* (செல்வம்), wealth, contains the idea of currency. A token coin or a coin that cannot be put in circulation is known as *cellā-k-kāsu* (செல்லாக்காசு) in popular parlance. The literal sense of the term *celvam* is employed by the Tamil bards to indicate the evanescence of wealth.

The idea that wealth is produced and increased by human endeavour finds expression in the word *paṇam* (பணம்), which is derived from the root *paṇ* (பண்)—to make.<sup>275</sup> Industry is the mother of prosperity (முயற்சி திருவினை ஆக்கும்) says the Tamil poet.<sup>275a</sup> The etymological sense of *paṇam* stresses the view that man is the maker of his own fortune and demolishes the theory that wealth and poverty are regulated by destiny.

The advocates of the doctrine of renunciation deprecated in strong terms the desire for wealth and condemned it as filthy lucre. Wealth was considered to be an obstacle in the way of the soul marching towards its destined goal of salvation. The desire for wealth was the 'snare of Satan' to keep the soul for ever in bondage. The poet has said "Whatsoever thing a man hath renounced, from the grief arising from that, hath he liberated himself." The doctrine which exhorted the mortals to lift their thoughts from the world of ignoble strife to the serene world of eternal bliss, was responsible for wealth being called *veṟukkai* (வெறுக்கை) — the cursed or detested thing.<sup>276</sup>

*Māḍu* (மாடு) is another term for wealth. "Among pastoral peoples wealth naturally consists in flocks and herds and wealth is counted by so many head of cattle. Thus the cattle became a kind of

275. Cf. Sanskrit, *paṇa*.

275a திருக்குறள், 616.

276. அநதோ, சி, சி, இப்பொருளைச் செம்மையுடையோர் வேண்டுமெனச் சிந்தித் திடுவரோ மறந்தும்—குசேலோபாக்கியானம், குசேலர் வைகுந்தம், 106.

legal tender. This happened among the Indo-Europeans, and Indo-European languages have preserved many traces of this primitive state in which, cattle, a man's only wealth were used as money."<sup>277</sup> This, says Vendreys, is an instance of social factors influencing the evolution of vocabulary.

A careful consideration of the synonyms of the verb *col* (சொல்) — speak, will enable us to discover the distinctions existing between them.

*Urai* (உரை) — comment.

*Arai* (அறை) — assert.

*Parai* (பறை) — proclaim.

*Pannu* (பன்னு) — repeat.

*Kūru* (கூறு) — speak in a logical or analytical manner.

*Kuyirru* (கூயிற்று) — speak in a melodious voice.

*Viḷambu* (விளம்பு) — enlighten.

*Iyambu* (இயம்பு) — speak in a musical tone.

*Cārru* (சாற்று) — Advocate.

*Miḷarru* (மிழற்று) — speak in a pleasing manner.

It is probable that the three words *ī*, *tā* and *koḍu* (ஈ, தா, கொடு) were originally synonyms, but usage gradually established a semantic distinction between them. '*ī*' (ஈ) is used when a person begs for a thing; *tā* (தா) is used when he calls for a thing; and *koḍu* (கொடு) is used when he demands a thing.<sup>278</sup> Thus the distinction is based upon the power and position of the person who addresses the word. The three words are assigned to the three possible positions which a man can occupy in his relations with his fellowmen, viz., inferiority, equality and superiority.

The nouns derived from these verbal roots reflect these shades of thought. *īhai* (ஈகை) derived from the root *ī* (ஈ) is defined as 'the gift of a thing to the destitute'.<sup>279</sup> *Taruhaī* (தருகை) derived from

277. Vendreys, Language, p. 211.

278. ஈயென்கிளவி இழிந்தோன் கூற்றே—தொல். சொல். 445.

தாவென் கிளவி யொப்போன் கூற்றே—தொல். சொல். 446.

கொடுவென் கிளவி யுயர்ந்தோன் கூற்றே—தொல். சொல். 447.

279. வறியார்க்க் கொன்றி வதே ஈகை—திருக்குறள், 221.

*tā* (தா) is used in connection with transactions in which one thing is exchanged for another.<sup>280</sup> The expression *varam-tarudal* (வரம் தருதல்) signifies the boon granted to a person in return for the penance performed by him. *Koḍai* (கொடை) formed from the root *koḍu* (கொடு) signifies a thing given to a person in power or authority. The offering made to the village deities with a view to propitiating them is aptly termed *kodai* for the deity is deemed to have the power of demanding it.<sup>281</sup>

*Anbu* (அன்பு) and *aru!* (அருள்) denote tenderness. Their exact signification however has been settled by literary usage. The phrase 'அருளுள்ளும் அன்பின் குழவி' 'suggested the distinction in a metaphorical way.<sup>282</sup> The classical commentator of the *Kura!* in which the phrase occurs, has explained the distinction between them which was perhaps not so clearly perceived till then. According to him the tenderness which a person feels for his relations is signified by the term *anbu* and the tenderness felt for the animate world beyond the circle of relations is denoted by the term *aru!*.<sup>283</sup> Thus *aru!* is the quality of mercy which by its gentle touch makes the whole world kin.

The distinction between *valakkam* (வழக்கம்) and *palakkam* (பழக்கம்)<sup>284</sup> is identical with the distinction between custom and usage in law. Custom carries with it an idea of great antiquity. In law one of the essentials of a valid custom is that it must uniformly have existed from time immemorial. No such antiquity is necessary to prove a usage. *Palakkam* may therefore be defined as a uniform practice among a people or class with respect to certain matters or things.

280. விலைப்பொருட்டால் ஊன்தருவார் இல்—திருக்குறள், 256.

நாலுங்கலந்துனக்கு நான்தருவேன்.. நீயெனக்குச் சங்கத்தமிழ் மூன்றும் தா—நல்வழி, காப்பு.

281. It is significant that the offerings made to the ferocious deities alone are known as *koḍai*. The huge quantity of rice and meat with which they are propitiated is called *paḍai* (படைப்பு).

282. தொடர்பு பற்றுகே வருத்தமுற்றார் மேற்செல்வதாய் அருள், தொடர் பற்றிச்செல்லும் அன்புமுதிர்ந்துழி யுளதாவதாகலின் அதனை அன்பின் குழவியென்றார். (திருக்குறள், 757, பரிமேலழகர் உரை.)

283. அருளுடைமை—அ. தாவது தொடர்பு பற்றுகு இயல்பாக எல்லாவுயிர்கண் மேலும் செல்வதாகிய கருணை. இல்லறத்திற்கு அன்புடைமை போல இது துறவறத்திற்குச் சிறந்தமையின் முற்கூறப்பட்டது. (திருக்குறள், அதி. 25. தோற்றுவாய்).

284. *Valakkam* and *Palakkam* are also used in the sense of habit and practice respectively.

*Ōsai* and *oli* (ஓசை, ஒலி) have acquired by usage distinct significations. The existence of this distinction has received sufficient recognition in ancient poetry. When the saint addresses the Lord as (ஓசை ஒலியெல்லாம் ஆனாய் நீயே).<sup>285</sup> It is obvious that he attaches distinct sense-values to these two terms. *Ōsai* conveys the sense of noise and *oli* signifies tone. The distinction between noise and tone may be stated in the words of Max Muller: "Noises such as the rustling of leaves, the jarring of doors or the clap of thunder are produced by irregular impules imparted to the air. Tones such as we hear from tunin forks, strings, flute, organ pipes are produced by regular periodical vibrations of elastic air."<sup>286</sup> It is possible that *Ōdai* (ஓதை) is a variation of *ōsai* (ஓசை) as the palatal and dental sounds are interchangeable in Tamil.<sup>287</sup>

The principle of drawing a distinction between synonyms, is adopted in grammatical terminology for the the purpose of denoting differences brought into existence by literary usage, *Viyam* (வியம்) and *ēval* (ஏவல்) are synonyms signifying command.<sup>288</sup> When grammarians were confronted with two forms of command — a command properly so called and a polite command — they distinguished them by the terms *viyaṅṭṭi* (வியங்கோள்) and *ēval* (ஏவல்). Thus, the verb in the imperative mood is called *ēval viṇṭai* (ஏவல் வினை) and the verb in the optative mood came to be called *viyaṅṭṭi viṇṭai*.<sup>289</sup>

285. தேவாரம் (திருநாவுக்கரசர்), திருவையாற்றுப்பதிகம், 1.

286. Science of Language, Vol. I, p. 94.

287. āsaṇam (ஆசனம்) > ādaṇam (ஆதனம்).  
vayasu (வயசு) > vayadu (வயது).

Duplicated palatals and dalatals :—

vittu (வித்து) > viccu (விச்சு)

nittam (நித்தம்) > niccam (நிச்சம்)

Tittiri (தித்திரி) > ciccili (சிச்சிலி)

It may be that *ōdai* (ஓதை) is the earlier form and *ōsai* (ஓசை) its variant.

288. வியம்-ஏவல்; மடிபை விபங்கொள்ளின் மற்றைக்கருமம், முடியாதவாறே முயலும் — பழமொழி நானூறு. 167.

289. தொல். சொல். 222 - 226.

*Pahudi* (பகுதி) and *pādi* (பாதி) were originally synonyms.<sup>290</sup> *Pahudi* has changed into *padu* by the elimination of the medial vowel—consonant and the augmentation of the quantity of the initial vowel by way of compensation. The root of *pahudi* is *pahu* — to split, separate or divide. Hence *pahudi* denotes a part or portion of the whole. In modern usage however *pādi* connotes an equal division or a moiety.

*Sandi* (சந்தி) and *andi* (அந்தி) were originally identical in sense. It is probable that *andi* is a variation of *sandi*, brought about by the elimination of the initial sibilant. A distinction between these synonyms was established in due course. *Andi* was confined to contact of time and *sandi* was generally appropriated to contact of place. The time which marks the contact of day and night is known as *andi* — the twilight.<sup>291</sup> *Sandi* refers ordinarily to a place where different paths meet.<sup>292</sup>

*Eyiru* (எயிறு) in the sense of tooth is now confined to poetry and literary prose. *Īru* (ஈறு) which is probably a corruption of *eyiru* (எயிறு) is commonly used to denote the gums of the teeth.

Distinction between synonyms is sometimes brought about by the elevation or degradation of one of them. The terms *paḍuttal* (படுத்தல்) and *kiḍattal* (கிடத்தல்) were originally synonyms but a distinction has been established owing to the gradual deterioration of the later. *Paḍukkai* (படுக்கை) and *kiḍakkai* (கிடக்கை) formed from the roots, *paḍu* (படு) and *kiḍa* (கிட) denote the act of resting or sleeping. However, the word *kiḍattal* (கிடத்தல்) is now relegated to the vocabulary of the vulgar dialect. *Kiḍai* (கிடை) derived from the root *kiḍa* clearly indicates the degree of its degradation. Although it retains its primary sense in poetry; common usage has confined it to the sheep-fold, *āṭṭu-k-kiḍai* (ஆட்டுக்கிடை).

The sense of eating is denoted by the terms, *uṇ* (உண்) and *tiṇ* (திண்). The nouns formed from these verbal roots are *uṇ* (உண்ண) and *tiṇi* (திணி), *uṇavu* (உணவு), *uṇ* (உண்ண) and *uṇḍi* (உண்டி) are synonyms.

290. பகுத்துண்டு பல்லுயிர் ஒம்புதல் — திருக்குறள், 322.

பாத்தூண் மரீஇயவனை—திருக்குறள், 227.

291. அந்திக்கடை — Evening bazaar.

292. சதுக்கமுஞ் சந்தியும் புதுப்பூங்கடம்பும்—திருமுருகு. 225.

While these words retain their original meaning *tiṇi* is now used mainly with reference to the food of animals.

The Tamil word *avā* (அவா) and the Sanskrit derivative *āsai* (ஆசை) were used originally as synonyms. Annihilation of desire is denoted by the expression *avā-v-aruttal* (அவாவறுத்தல்) in *Tirukkuraḷ*.<sup>293</sup> In the exhortation *āsai-arumīn* (ஆசை அறுமின்)<sup>294</sup> *āsai* is used in the same sense. Sita refers to her husband as *āsaiyīn-kaṇi*, (ஆசையின் கனி) — the delicious fruit of her desire.<sup>295</sup> But in modern usage *āsai* has acquired the meaning of improper or unwholesome desire. The distinction between the two words is clearly indicated in the compounds *pē-āsai* (பேராசை) and *pēravā* (பேரவா). Avarice is denoted by the former and intense desire by the latter. It is significant that *āval* (ஆவல்) which is a contraction of *avāval* (அவாவல்)<sup>296</sup> continues to bear the original sense of desire or eagerness. The connections in which *āsai* is used in modern parlance, clearly mark the extent of its degeneration. e.g., *āsai-k-kūḷatti* (ஆசைக் கிழத்தி) — concubine *Āsai-nāyahan* (ஆசை நாயகன்) — illicit lover; *Āsai marundu* (ஆசை மருந்து) — Love potion or philter and so forth.

When words bearing the same sense are drawn from different languages and are current side by side, a distinction is gradually established between them. The Tamil word *eṇṇēi* (எண்ணெய்) and the Sanskrit derivative *tailam* (தைலம்) are synonyms. The Sanskrit word for sesame (எள்) is *tila* and hence the oil extracted from *tila* is known as *taila*. But is hardly *tailam* used to denote the gingili oil in the modern speech. Scented and medicinal oils are generally signified by it.

The Sanskrit term *Sthala* corrupted into *talam* (தலம்) is the equivalent of *iḍam* (இடம்) in Tamil. A distinction has gradually come into existence by which the Sanskrit derivative is confined to sacred and holy places while its Tamil equivalent continues to convey the original sense of place.

293. திருக்குறள், அதி. 37.

294. ஆசையறுமின்கள் ஆசையறுமின்கள்  
ஈசனோடாயினும் ஆசையறுமின்கள்—திருமந்திரம். 2615.

295. கம்ப மாயாசனக. 212.

296. In *avāval* — the elimination of the first *vā* is due to haplogy; the increase in the quantity of the initial vowel is due to compensation.

The Tamil word *Aṛivu* (அறிவு) and the Samskrit derivative *gnāṇam* (ஞானம்) are synonyms. *Aṛivan* (அறிவன்) is used in poetry in the sense of sage; *Aṛivunūl* (அறிவு நூல்) is book of knowledge. *Gnāṇam* (ஞானம்) also means knowledge; *Gnānēn-driyam* (ஞானேந்திரியம்) is the collective name for the sense organs. Usage however has restricted *aṛivu* to knowledge and *gnāṇam* to wisdom. Thus *aṛiṇan* (அறிஞன்) denotes a man of knowledge and *gnāṇi* (ஞானி) signifies a sage or wise man.

The Sanskrit derivative *vittai* (வித்தை) and the Tamil word *kalvi* (கல்வி) are synonyms. *Vidyāsālai* (வித்தியாசாலை) derived from the root of the word *vittai* and *kallūri* (கல்லூரி) derived from the root of the word *kalvi* denote the school. Similarly *vittahan* (வித்தகன்) and *kaṭṭavan* (கற்றவன்) signify the learned person. Popular usage however has restricted the term *vittai* to an art or craft involving subtlety or dexterity. The magician is commonly called *vittai-k-kāran* (வித்தைக்காரன்).

Borrowed words are sometimes altered in accordance with the phonetic laws and tendencies of the language in which they are adopted and made the vehicles of different thoughts. The Sanskrit word *Bāṇa* is current in Tamil in a double form viz., *pāṇam* and *vāṇam*. The labial and the labio-dental are interchangeable in Tamil and hence *pāṇam* and *vāṇam* are different from of the same word. The difference in form has led to a difference in sense. In modern usage *pāṇam* retains the sense of arrow but *vāṇam* is used with reference to the rocket. A display of fire works is commonly known as *vāṇa vēḍikkai* (வாண வேடிக்கை).

The Sanskrit term *jala* is employed in two forms in Tamil. *Jalam* (ஜலம்)—the tatsama form—signifies water. But *calam* (சலம்)—the tatbhava form in which the palatal surd has taken the place of the palatal sonant—is used with reference to the pus issuing from festered wounds.<sup>297</sup>

The words formed by attaching different particles serving the same grammatical purpose, to a common root are made the vehicles of allied but distinct thoughts. For instance from the verbal root *vē!* (வேள்) the nouns *vēḷvi* (வேள்வி) *vēḷkai* (வேட்கை) and *vēḷtai* (வேட்டை) are derived. It is evident that these words have been



formed by attaching different suffixes of the verbal noun to the common root. Though the three words contain the sense of desire, each of them is confined to a particular kind of desire. *Vēḷvi* denotes a sacrifice performed with religious zeal. *Vēṭkai* cannotes sexual desire. *Vēṭṭai* signifies hunting. *Vēṭṭuvan* (வேட்டுவன்) or *vēḍan* (வேடன்) is the name of the hillman whose main occupation is hunting.

The terms *yākkai* (யாக்கை) and *yāppu* (யாப்பு) are derived from the root *yā* (யா), to bind together. *Yākkai* signifies the body and *yāppu* means verse in literary language. The body has been conceived as a house built of bones and flesh, bound together by nerves and covered with skin.<sup>298</sup> This concept forms the basis of the term *yākkai*. In the composition of verse also a similar process is adopted. Syllables and words are arranged in a particular order, strunk together by rhyme and alliteration and made the vehicle of thought.<sup>299</sup> Hence metrical composition is signified by the term *yāppu*.

The words *curu!* (சுருள்) and *curuṭṭu* (சுருட்டு) are derived obviously from a common root containing the idea of a roll but denote different objects by a variation of termination.<sup>300</sup> A roll of palm leaves is called *ōlai-c-cura!* (ஒலைச்சுருள்): a roll of betel leaves is known as *verṭilai-c-cura!* (வெற்றிலைச் சுருள்) and so forth. Gold or silver coins rolled in a piece of yellow cloth and presented to the newly married couple on auspicious occasions is known as *Curu!* in the Southern districts.<sup>301</sup> *Curuṭṭu* however is definitely restricted to cigar.<sup>302</sup> "It has passed into the English vocabulary in the form cheroot but appropriated specially to cigars truncated at both ends."<sup>303</sup>

The difference between *uruvu* (உருவு) and *urupu* (உருபு) was originally one of form and not of substance. *Uruvu* means form or

298. நரம்பிடுகே டெலும்பு கட்டி நசையிடுகே டிசைவொன் நிலலாக்—குரம்பை வாய்க் குடியிருந்து குலத்தினுல் வாழமாட்டேன். — தேவாரம் (சுந்தரர்) திருவாரூர்ப்பதிகம். 5. (பெரிய திருமொழி. 59ம் பாட்டையும் பார்க்க)

299. *Yāppu Ilakkaṇam* is prosody.

300. Cf. இருள் — இருட்டு (*iruḷ-iruṭṭu*) — darkness.

301. *curu!* — Presents with betel given to bride and bridegroom. Loc. — Tamil Lexicon.

302. *Curuṭṭu* (Tamil), *curuṭṭu* (Malayālam), *tcutta* (Telugu), *cutti* (Kanarese). In Telugu and Kanarese the radical letter of the root is eliminated.

303. Hobson — Jobson.

symbol.<sup>304</sup> But *urupu* is appropriated to the post-positional particles expressive of case relations in grammatical terminology.<sup>305</sup> The case sign is called *vēṛṛumai urupu*.

Variations in form caused by the operation of phonotic laws such as metathesis, prothesis and euphonic nunnation have brought about variations in sense.

(1) Metathesis :—

*Visiṛi* (விசிறி) = fan.

*Siviṛi* (சிவிறி) = Syringe.

*Koppuḷ-am* (கொப்புளம்) = bubble.

*Pokkuḷ-am* (பொக்குளம்) = boil.<sup>306</sup>

*Mukil* (முகிழ்) = bud.

*Kumil* (குமிழ்) = bubble ; knob.

(2) Prothesis with or without consonantal changes :—

*Rājā* (Skt) > *Rāson* > *arasan* = King.

*Rājā* (Skt) > *Rāyan* > *irāyan* = Title of certain castes like Mādhva Brahmins.

*Rakta* (Skt) > *Rattam* > *irattam* = blood.

*Rakta* (Skt) > *Rattam* > *arattam* = a garment.

(3) Euphonic nasalisation :—

*Kūḍu* (கூடு) = nest.

*Kūṇḍu* (கூண்டூ) = covering.<sup>307</sup>

304. உருவுகண் டெள்ளாமை வேண்டும் — திருக்குறள், 667.

305. The case—sign is called *vēṛṛumai urupu* in grammar.

306. Tamil Lexicon.

307. A carriage with a covering overhead is called *kūṇḍu vaṇḍi* and a carriage without a top is commonly known as *moṭṭai vaṇḍi*.

*Aḍu* (அடு) = approach.

*Aṇḍu* (அண்டு) = attach.<sup>308</sup>

*Taḍu* (தடு) = obstruct.

*Taṇḍu* (தண்டு) = collect rents, taxes, etc.<sup>309</sup>

*Dimorphism* due to different degrees of corruption, has served the cause of semantic distinction :—

*Praṣṭhapadā* (Skt) — *Puraṭṭāsi* (Ta) = The Sixth Tamil month.

*Proṣṭhapadā* (Skt) — *Pūraṭṭādi* (Ta) = The twenty-fifth *nakṣatra*.

*Śrāvaṇa* (Skt) — *Sirāvaṇam* (Ta) = a religious ceremony.

*Śrāvaṇa* (Skt) — *Avāṇi* (Ta) = The fifth Tamil month.

*Lakṣaṇa* (Skt) — *Ilaṭcaṇam* (Ta) = beauty.

*Lakṣaṇa* (Skt) — *Ilakkaṇam* (Ta) = grammar.

Distinction in form between Sanskritic and Prākritic terms employed in Tamil has contributed to semantic discrimination :—

*Sūnya* (Skt) — *Sūṇiyam* (Ta) = Witchcraft.

*Sunna* (Pkt) — *Sunṇam* (Ta) = Cipher.

*Varṇa* (Skt) — *varuṇam* (Ta) = colour.

*Vaṇṇa* (Pkt) — *vaṇṇam* (Ta) = beauty.

*Ārya* (Skt) — *Āriyan* (Ta) = a man of the Aryan race.

*Ajja* (Pkt) — *Accan* (Ta) = father.

Semantic wear and tear is responsible for the existence of several Pleonasm in the colloquial dialect of Tamil. For instance :

*Cakaḍa-vaṇḍi* (சகட வண்டி), cor, *cakkdā-vaṇḍi* (சக்கடா வண்டி) — country cart.

308. Usage has established a distinction between *aḍu* and *aṇḍu*. *Aḍutta viḍu* is next house; *Aṇḍai viḍu* is adjoining house.

309. Tamil Lexicon. It is possible that *taṇḍai* (anklet) is the nasalised form of *taḍai* (obstruction).

*Udai-vāḍḍai* (ஊதை வாடை), cor, *ūḷai-vāḍḍai* (ஊளை வாடை) — chill wind.

*Kaḍuvan-pūnai* (கடுவன் பூனை), cor, *Kaḍuvām-pūnai* (கடுவாம்பூனை) — Big cat.

*Arai-nāṇ-kayiru* (அரை நாண்கயிறு), cor, *Arunākayaru* (அருநாக்கயிறு) — waist cord.

*Cūrā-vaḷi-k-kārru* (சூராவளிக் காற்று), cor, *Cūrā-vaḷi-k-kāttu* (சூராவளிக் காத்து) — whirl-wind.

In each of these compounds, the classical word which has lost its semantic value is followed and supported by its popular equivalent.

## *Works referred to in this book*

1. அமலாதித்யன், 60
2. இறையனாகப்பொருள் உரை, 4, 6
3. ஐங்குறு நூறு, 20
4. கம்ப இராமாயணம், 4, 10, 14, 17, 20, 28, 31, 34, 37, 43, 45, 46, 48, 50, 53, 56, 64, 71
5. கருவூர்ப்புராணம், 33
6. கலித்தொகை, 6, 45
7. காஞ்சிப்புராணம், 35
8. குசேலோபாக்கியானம், 66
9. குறிஞ்சிப்பாட்டு, 34
10. குறுந்தொகை, 57
11. சிந்தாமணி, 13, 20, 23, 38, 44, 62
12. சிலப்பதிகாரம், 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 21, 24, 25, 26, 29, 37, 41, 42, 45, 46, 49, 51, 56, 61, 63, 64
13. சூடாமணி நிகண்டு, 8, 13, 20, 32, 35, 52
14. சூளாமணி, 1
15. செந்தமிழ், 3
16. செவ்வந்திப்புராணம், 33
17. சேரன் செங்குட்டுவன் (மு. இராகவையங்கார்), 32
18. தமிழ் இலக்கிய வரலாறு (கா. சுப்பிரமணிய பிள்ளை), 63
19. தாயுமானவர் பாடல், 42, 49
20. திருக்குறள், 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 20, 25, 27, 28, 37, 40, 43, 44, 47, 53, 54, 58, 59, 60, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 74
21. திருக்குறள் (ஜி. யு. போப் அவர்களின் மொழிபெயர்ப்பு), 50, 59
22. திருப்பாவை, 52
23. திருப்புகழ், 52
24. திருமந்திரம், 38, 71
25. திருமாலை, 2
26. திருமுருகாற்றுப்படை, 14, 15, 35, 70

27. திருவள்ளுவ மாலை, 50
28. திருவாசகம், 30, 38
29. திருவாய்மொழி, 19
30. திவாகரம், 13, 39
31. தேவாரம், 3, 31, 32, 45, 64, 69, 73
32. தொல்காப்பியம் (எழுத்து), 47
  - „ (சொல்), 35, 52, 67, 69
  - „ (பொருள்), 5, 7, 10, 11, 34, 38, 39, 56, 57, 64
33. நல்வழி, 67
34. நளவெண்பா, 9
35. நன்னூல், 4, 39, 46, 50, 61
36. நால்வர் நான்மணி மாலை, 38
37. நாலடியார், 31, 46
38. நீதிநெறி விளக்கம், 53, 56
39. பட்டினப்பாலை, 20, 22
40. பரிபாடல், 28
41. பழமொழி, 14, 41, 47, 60, 69
42. பாரதி பாடல், 57
43. பிங்கல நிகண்டு, 1, 7, 63
44. புலவர் புராணம், 37
45. புறநானூறு, 15, 45, 49, 52, 57, 60, 65
46. பெரிய திருமொழி, 18, 32, 73
47. பெரியாழ்வார், 16, 17, 63, 65
48. பெரியாழ்வார், 52
49. பெருங்கதை, 1, 55
50. மீனாட்சியம்மை குறம், 33
51. மூதுரை, 8
52. Burhān-i-Qāṭi, 22
53. Comparative Grammar of Dravidian languages (Caldwell), 2, 5, 11, 27, 36, 40
54. Comus (Milton), 7
55. Critical Studies in Kural (M. S. Poornalingam Pillai), 5
56. Customs and Customary Law, 21
57. Golden Bough (Fraser), (Vol. II), 5, 17, 18, 31
58. Hamlet (Shakespeare), 60
59. History of the Tamils (P. T. Srinivasa Iyyangar), 26, 28
60. Hobson-Jobson, 23, 38, 73

61. Indian ideal of marriage (Tagore), 58, 59
  62. Introduction to modern Linguistics (Palmer), 29
  63. Key of Knowledge, 26
  64. Language (Vendryes), 10, 28, 67
  65. Malayalam Dictionary (Gundert), 14, 15, 23
  66. Mankind, Nation and Individual (Jespersen), 31
  67. Marco Polo's Travels, 38
  68. Meaning and Change of meaning (G. Stern), 36
  69. Outlines of the History of the English Language (E. Classen),  
Foreword, ii.
  70. Persia, (Malcolm), (Vol. II), 22
  71. Personal ornaments of the Madrasi, M. C. C. M., Sept.,  
(1913), 16, 17, 18
  72. Principles of Human Physiology (Starling), 12
  73. Semantics (Breal), 9
  74. Science of Language, 69
  75. Stone age in India (P. T. Srinivasa Iyyangar), 19
  76. Study of words (Trench), 4, 54, 58
  77. Tamils eighteen hundred years ago, 41
  78. Tamil Lexicon, Vol. I to VI and supplement, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12,  
13, 16, 29, 35, 37, 38, 53, 54, 56, 64, 72, 73, 74, 75
-

# Index

Compiled by

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## A

A (ஆ), 14f.

Ā (ஆ), 39

Accan (அச்சன்), 75

Aḍai-y-ōlai (அடையோலை), 62

Adam's Apple, 12

Adam's Bridge, 2f.

Adaṇam (ஆதனம்), 69f.

Āḍavan (ஆடவன்), 5

Aḍi (அடி), 42

Aḍicariyāḷ (அடிச்சரியாள்), 55f.

Ādi-c-cēri (ஆதிச்சேரி), 55

Adi-c-cēri-yāḷ (அடிச்சேரியாள்), 55f.

Aḍi-kaḷ (அடிகள்), 25

Aḍiyār (அடியார்), 25, 42

Aḍiyārkkū-Nallār, (அடியார்க்கு நல்லார்) 14f., 24f., 25f., 41f., 46f., 52, 64f.

Aḍu (அடு), 75

Aḍutta viḍu (அடுத்த வீடு), 75f.

Aha-c-camayam (அகச்சமயம்), 10

Aha-ital (அக இதழ்), 10

Aha-k-kāl (அகக்காழ்), 10

Ahala-v-urai (அகலவுரை), 46

Aham (அகம்), 9, 10, 11, 23f.

Aham-tūymai (அகம் தூய்மை), 11

Ahamuḍaiyāḷ (அகமுடையாள்), 10

Ahamuḍaiyan (அகமுடையான்), 10

Ahappaḍutal (அகப்படுதல்), 10

Ahappahai (அகப்பகை), 10

Ahapporuḷ (அகப்பொருள்), 10

Ahattāḷ (அகத்தாள்), 10

Ahattāṇ (அகத்தான்), 10

Ai (ஐ), 14f., 27

Aimbon (ஐம்பொன்), 37

Aimmīṇ (ஐம்மீன்), 1f.

Aivar Malai (ஐவர் மலை), 32

Aiyan (ஐயன்), 27

Ājivaka, 24

Ajja, 75

Āḷ (ஆழ்), 42

Āḷ (ஆள்), 5, 54

Alakkaṇ (அலக்கண்), 7f.

Alar (அலர்), 13

Āḷar (ஆளர்), 40

Āḷi (அழி), 18

Āḷi (ஆழி), 18

Āḷi (ஆளி), 54

Allikkēṇi (அல்லிக்கேணி), 3

Āḷvār (ஆழ்வார்), 42

Āḷvār-kuricci (ஆழ்வார் குறிச்சி), 33

Am (அம்), 40

Āmā (ஆமா), 39f.

Amaiccar-cēri, 55f.

Amalai (அமலை), 64

Amali (அமலி), 64

Amaḷi (அமளி), 64

Āmakkaḷ (ஆமக்கள்), 41



- Āmakkan (ஆமக்கன்), 41f.  
 Āmān (ஆமான்), 39f.  
 Āmaṇakku eṇṇei (ஆமணக்கு எண்ணெய்), 49  
 Amaṇam (அமணம்), 25  
 Amar (அமர்), 63  
 Amar-k-kaḷam (அமர்க்களம்), 63  
 Āmbaḍayā! (ஆம்படயாள்), 10f.  
 Āmbaḍayān (ஆம்படயான்), 10f.  
 Āmbūr (ஆம்பூர்), 3f.  
 Ammai (அம்மை), 31  
 Ammai-kuttal, 31  
 Ammai-muttu (அம்மை முத்து), 31  
 Ammai-viḷaiyāṭṭu (அம்மை விளையாட்டு), 31  
 Ammaṇam (அம்மணம்), 25  
 Ammān-cēy (அம்மான் சேய்), 28  
 Ammāñji (அம்மாஞ்சி), 28  
 Āmūr (ஆமூர்), 3f.  
 An (அன்), 27, 40, 51, 57  
 Āṇ (ஆண்), 56  
 Āṇ (ஆன்), 39  
 Anbu (அன்பு), 68  
 Āṇḍai (ஆண்டை), 54  
 Anḍai-vīḍu (அண்டை வீடு), 75f.  
 Āṇḍān (ஆண்டான்), 54  
 Andaṇan (அந்தணன்), 39  
 Andaṇar (அந்தணர்), 40  
 Andaṇar-cēri (அந்தணர் சேரி), 55f.  
 Āndhra, 35  
 Andi (அந்தி), 70  
 Āṇḍi (ஆண்டி), 54  
 Andi-k-kaḍai (அந்திக்கடை), 70f.  
 Āṇḍi-p-paṇḍāram (ஆண்டிப் பண்டாரம்), 54  
 Anḍu (அண்டு), 75  
 Aṇi (அணி), 2  
 Aṇikalam, (அணிகலம்), 19  
 Aṇil (அணில்), 2  
 Aṇidurai (அணிந்துரை), 46  
 Aṇir-piḷḷai (அணிற் பிள்ளை), 56  
 Āṇ-mahan (ஆண் மகன்), 5f.  
 Āṇmai (ஆண்மை), 5  
 Āṇ-makkaḷ (ஆண்மக்கள்), 41  
 Āṇ-piḷḷai-p-piḷḷai (ஆண் பிள்ளைப் பிள்ளை), 56  
 Āṇ-piḷḷai (ஆண் பிள்ளை), 56  
 Apayam (அபயம்), 4f.  
 Appa-vāṇihan (அப்ப வாணிகள்), 40  
 Appāvi (அப்பாவி), 54  
 Ar (அர்), 41  
 Ār (ஆர்), 34  
 Arabian, 22  
 Arabic, 22, 23  
 Aṟai (அறை), 43, 44, 67  
 Arai-nāṇ (அரை நாண்), 17, 62  
 Arai-nāṇ-kayiru (அரை நாண் கயிறு), 76  
 Arai-nāṇ-koḍi (அரை நாண் கொடி), 17  
 Aranākkōḍi (அரநாக்கொடி), 17  
 Arasan (அரசன்), 74  
 Arasi (அரசி), 30  
 Arattam (அரத்தம்), 74  
 Aṟavaṇa aḍikaḷ (அறவண அடிகள்), 25  
 Aṟavōr-paḷli (அறவோர் பள்ளி), 42  
 Arhat (அருகன்), 37  
 Arimā (அரிமா), 39  
 Arimān (அரிமான்), 39f.  
 Aṟiṇan (அறிஞன்), 72  
 Ari-vāl-maṇai (அரிவாள் மனை), 62  
 Aṟivan (அறிவன்), 72  
 Aṟivu (அறிவு), 72  
 Aṟivuḍaimai (அறிவுடைமை), 42  
 Aṟivu-nūl (அறிவுநூல்), 72  
 Āriyan (ஆரியன்), 75  
 Ār-k-kāḍu (ஆர்க்காடு), 34  
 Ār-k-kōṇam (ஆர்க்கோணம்), 34  
 Ārkōṇam (ஆர்கோணம்), 34  
 Ārtti (ஆர்த்தி), 34  
 Aṟu (அறு), 43  
 Āru-kāḍu (ஆறு காடு), 34

- Arai-nāṇ-kayirū (அரைநாண்  
கயிறு), 34  
 Ara-nā-k-kayarū (அரநாக்கயறு),  
34  
 Ārañji (ஆரஞ்சி), 40  
 Arappu (அறப்பு), 9  
 Aratali (அறதலி), 9f.  
 Āratti, 18f.  
 Ārcu (ஆர்ச்சு), 41  
 Arch, 41  
 Architecture, 41  
 Arcot, 21  
 Arici (அரிசி), 7  
 Arikkan (அரிக்கன்), 42  
 Arinelli (அரிநெல்லி), 9  
 Arivāḷ (அரிவான்), 7  
 Arji (அர்ஜி), 48  
 Ārmōṇiyam (ஆர்மோனியம்), 57  
 Army, 54  
 Āroṭṭi (ஆரொட்டி), 42  
 Āroṭṭu (ஆரொட்டு), 22  
 Arro (w) root (ஆரோருட்), 22  
 Arrowroot, 42  
 Ārrūr (ஆற்றூர்), 15  
 Ārtti (ஆர்த்தி), 17f.  
 Aruci (அருசி), 7  
 Aruḷi-c-ceyṭal (அருளிச்செய்தல்),  
2f.  
 Aruḷ-moḷi (அருள்மொழி), 31  
 Arunelli (அருநெல்லி), 9  
 Aruṇmoḷi (அருண்மொழி), 31  
 Āru-pēr (ஆறுபேர்), 26  
 Aruppu (அறுப்பு), 9  
 Arutāli (அறுதாலி), 9f.  
 Aruvāḷ (அருவான்), 7  
 Aruvā-nāḍu (அருவாநாடு), 32f.  
 Āru-v-ar (அறுவர்), 26  
 Aruvā-vaḍatalai-nādu (அருவா  
வடதலைநாடு), 32f.  
 Ārya, 33  
 'Arz, 48  
 'Arzī, 48  
 As, 55  
 Asal (அசல்), 47  
 Asāmī, 48  
 Āsāmi (ஆசாமி), 48  
 Āsar (ஆசர்), 50  
 Asaṭṭu-p-pisaṭṭu (அசட்டுப்  
பிசட்டு), 34  
 Asesar (அசெசர்), 50  
 Asiatic Languages, 40f.  
 Āsil (ஆசில்), 48  
 Aṣḷ, 47  
 Āspatali, 19f.  
 Āspattali, 23  
 Āspattari (ஆஸ்பத்தரி), 19f., 23  
 Āspattiri (ஆஸ்பத்திரி), 57  
 Āspital, 19f.  
 Assessor, 50  
 Āsthāna, 33  
 Astrology, 35  
 Athavaṇa, 45  
 Attāṇi (அத்தாணி), 33  
 Attar (அத்தர்), 44  
 Aṭṭavaṇai (அட்டவணை), 45  
 Ātti (ஆத்தி), 17f.  
 Aṭṭikai (அட்டிகை), 36  
 Attu (அத்து), 47  
 Āttūr (ஆத்தூர்), 15  
 Atu (அது), 28  
 Atugaḷ (அதுகள்), 27f., 28  
 Ātula, 18f.  
 Ātulan (ஆதுலன்), 18f.  
 Ātura, 18f.  
 Auger, 42  
 Avai (அவை), 28  
 Avai vandanā (அவை வந்தன்), 28  
 Aval (அவன்), 28  
 Avāḷ (அவான்), 27  
 Āval (ஆவல்), 22  
 Avalgaḷ (அவள்கள்), 28  
 Avalgaḷ vandāḷgaḷ (அவள்கள்  
வந்தாள்கள்), 28  
 Avan (அவன்), 27, 28  
 Avaṅgaḷ (அவங்கன்), 28

Avaṅgaḷ-vandāṅgaḷ (அவங்கள்  
வந்தாங்கள்), 28  
Avar (அவர்), 27, 28  
Avargaḷ (அவர்கள்), 27  
Avar vandār (அவர் வந்தார்), 28  
Avatāram (அவதாரம்), 22  
Avā-v-al (அவாவல்), 22  
Avayam (அவயம்), 15  
Aviḍaviṭṭu (அவிடவிட்டு), 50  
Avvaiyār (அவ்வையார்), 2  
A-v-viḍu (அவ்விடு), 28  
Ayan (அயன்), 48  
Ayarndu (அயர்ந்து), 17f.  
Āycci (ஆய்ச்சி), 17  
Āyccu (ஆய்ச்சு), 29  
Āyiccu (ஆயிச்சு), 29  
Āyiram-pēr (ஆயிரம்பேர்), 26  
Āyira-v-ar (ஆயிரவர்), 26  
Āy-irru (ஆயிற்று), 29  
Āyittu (ஆயித்து), 29  
‘Ayn, 48  
Ayya, 33  
Ayyan (அய்யன்), 33  
Azmāyish, 48

## B

Bābat, 49, 60  
Baibil (பைபிள்), 56  
Bādām, 39  
Badl, 60  
Bahadur, 53  
Bahadūr (பகதூர்), 53  
Bala, 4  
Baṭṭi (பட்டி), 55  
Bālti, 42  
Bālya, 15  
Bāṇa, 15  
Banāmī, 49  
Bandhaka, 4  
Band-o-bast, 49  
Bangalow, 41  
Bank, 10, 46

Bāqī, 49  
Bar-āmada, 41  
Baravu, 20f.  
Barfi, 39  
Bārīk, 44  
Bas (பஸ்), 45  
Basiru, 20f.  
Baski (பஸ்கி), 55  
Bat, 60  
Baṭṭā, 46  
Baṭṭalion, 54  
Bāwṭā, 53  
Bayilvān (பயில்வான்), 55  
Bayal, 20f.  
Bazār (பசார்), 34  
Bāzār, 46  
Bāzū, 55  
Bāzū-band, 37  
Belt, 38  
Beḷuku, 62  
Bench, 42  
Bēsar, 37  
Bhāta, 39  
Bhetṭi, 53  
Bhinda, 15  
Bhūjya, 39  
Bible, 56  
Bichu’ā, 60  
Bill, 61  
Bilva, 15  
Bīmṇāk, 60  
Bind, 61  
Biscuit, 40  
Blotting paper, 54  
Board, 61  
Bodice, 38  
Boots, 38  
Botāo, 38f.  
Bōttel, 43f.  
Bottle, 43  
Brandy, 41  
Braziers, 23f.  
Bulāk, 37

Bulāq, 37  
 Bulb, 43  
 Bureau, 42  
 Būndī, 39  
 Bunyān, 38  
 Buruḍā, 62  
 Bus, 45  
 Business, 45  
 Būṭā, 38, 60  
 Button, 38

## C

Cabāṣ (சபாஷ்), 59  
 Cābuk, 54  
 Cāḍā (சாடா), 59  
 Cāḍai-māḍai (சாடைமாடை), 35  
 Cādalvār (சாதல்வார்), 22  
 Cadaṅgai (சதங்கை), 14f.  
 Cādarvār (சாதர்வார்), 22  
 Cāḍi (சாடி), 43  
 Cāḍi-kīḍi (சாடிகீடி), 26  
 Caḍuti (சாடுதி), 48  
 Cahalāttu (சகலாத்து), 37  
 Caikkiḷ (சைக்கிள்), 44  
 Cāka (சாக), 20  
 Cakaḍa-vaṇḍi (சகடவண்டி), 34  
 Cakam (சகம்), 4  
 Cake, 40  
 Cakkaḍā-vaṇḍi (சக்கடாவண்டி), 34  
 Cākkāḍu (சாக்காடு), 25f.  
 Cākkalāṭṭu (சாக்கலட்டு), 40  
 Cākkaṭṭu (சாக்கட்டு), 37  
 Cakkāttu (சக்காத்து), 58  
 Cākki (சாக்கி), 55  
 Cākku (சாக்கு), 3, 43  
 Cākku-p-pōkku (சாக்குப்போக்கு), 35  
 Cālāk, 59  
 Cālakku (சாலக்கு), 59  
 Cāla-mālam (சாலமாலம்), 34  
 Cālāmisiri (சாலாமிசிரி), 44  
 Calān, 49

Calānā, 46  
 Calāṅgai (சலங்கை), 14f.  
 Cālattu (சாலத்து), 41  
 Calavai (சலவை), 62  
 Caldwell, Dr., 8  
 Calli-killi (சல்லி கில்லி), 26  
 Cālvai (சால்வை), 37  
 Cāmāṇ (சாமான்), 59  
 Cambaḍam (சம்படம்), f.  
 Cāmbār (சாம்பார்), 39  
 Cambiradi (சம்பிரதி), 52  
 Cāmbirāṇi (சாம்பிராணி), 44  
 Cambuḍam (சம்புடம்), 9f.  
 Camera, 41  
 Camkī, 37  
 Cammaṇ (சம்மன்), 51  
 Cammukan (சம்முகன்), 22  
 Camukkāḷam (சமுக்காளம்), 43  
 Candā (சந்தா), 46  
 Candā-dār (சந்தாதார்), 25  
 Caṇmukan (சண்முகன்), 22  
 Caṇṇadu (சன்னது), 52  
 Caṇṇal (சன்னல்), 41  
 Cantaḍi (சந்தடி), 62  
 Cāppā (சாப்பா), 59  
 Capāṭi, 39  
 Cappātti (சப்பாத்தி), 39  
 Cappāttu (சப்பாத்து), 38  
 Capparam (சப்பரம்), 44  
 Cappōṭṭā (சப்போட்டா), 40  
 Cappu-c-cavaru (சப்புச்சவறு), 35  
 Cāppu-k-kaḍai (சாப்புக்கடை), 34  
 Caprōṭṭam (சப்ரோட்டம்), 52  
 Car, 44  
 Carakam (சரகம்), 48  
 Caraḍu-viḍutal (சாடுவிடுதல்), 36  
 Carahattu (சரகத்து), 48f.  
 Carāsari (சராசரி), 49  
 Carattu (சரத்து), 49  
 Cārāṭṭū (சாராட்டு), 44  
 Card, 45  
 Cardār (சர்தார்), 54  
 Carkkār (சர்க்கார்), 52

Carkkil (சர்க்கிள்), 52  
 Cāri (சாரி), 37  
 Carihai (சரிகை), 37  
 Carpattu (சர்பத்து), 41  
 Carrē (சற்றே), 4  
 Carttu (சர்ட்டு), 38  
 Case, 51  
 Catāy (சதாய்), 58  
 Caṭkā (சட்கா), 44  
 Caṭni, 39  
 Caṭni (சட்னி), 39  
 Caṭṭakappai (சட்டகப்பை), 14f.  
 Cattē (சத்தே), 4  
 Cāṭṭu-māṭṭu (சாட்டுமாட்டு), 34  
 Caṭṭu-p-pittu (சட்டுப்பிட்டு), 34  
 Catuṣka, 33  
 Cauk, 59  
 Cauka, 33  
 Cāva (சாவ), 20  
 Cavāl (சவால்), 59  
 Cavāri (சவாரி), 54  
 Cāvaḍi (சாவடி), 53  
 Cāval (சாவல்), 10f.  
 Cāvakan (சாவகன்), 33  
 Cāvi (சாவி), 43  
 Cavvādu (சவ்வாது), 15,  
 Cavuḍāl (சவுடால்), 59  
 Cavukkam (சவுக்கம்), 33  
 Cavukkai (சவுக்கை), 59  
 Cavukkār (சவுக்கார்), 46  
 Cavukku (சவுக்கு), 54  
 Cāy, 41  
 Cāyā (சாயா), 41  
 Cāyam-veḷuttal (சாயம்வெளுத்  
 தல்), 36  
 Cedukki (செதுக்கி), 14f.  
 Cekam (செகம்), 4  
 Cekka-c-cevēr (செக்கச்செவேர்),  
 35  
 Cekku (செக்கு), 47  
 Celān (செலான்), 49  
 Celavu (செலவு), 10  
 Cellam (செல்லம்), 22

Celvam (செல்வம்), 22  
 Celvan (செல்வன்), 23f.  
 Celvi (செல்வி), 23f.  
 Cement, 43  
 Cēmiyā (சேமியா), 39  
 Cēṇam (சேணம்), 55  
 Ceṇḍā (செண்டா), 53  
 Ceṇḍu (செண்டு), 47  
 Cent, 47  
 Centamiḷ (செந்தமிழ்), 1, 2, 32  
 Centamiḷ-nāḍu (செந்தமிழ்நாடு),  
 2  
 Ceppu, 19f.  
 Cēppu (சேப்பு), 20  
 Cerai (செறை), 6  
 Ceraṅgu (செரங்கு), 6  
 Cērkkai (சேர்க்கை), 26  
 Cēr-māṇam (சேர்மானம்), 26  
 Ceru (செறு), 32f.  
 Cerugu (செருகு), 10  
 Cerukki (செருக்கி), 14f.  
 Ceruppu (செருப்பு), 19f.  
 Cērvai (சேர்வை), 21  
 Cēti (சேதி), 18  
 Cettē (செத்தே), 4  
 Ceṭṭi (செட்டி), 26f.  
 Ceṭṭilmeṇḍu (செட்டில்மெண்டு),  
 49  
 Ceṭṭi-y-ār (செட்டியார்), 26f.  
 Ceṭṭu (செட்டு), 41  
 Cēvai (சேவை), 21  
 Cēval (சேவல்), 10f.  
 Cevappu (செவப்பு), 11, 20  
 Cevār (செவார்), 9f.  
 Ceviḍu (செவிடு), 7  
 Cevuḍu (செவுடு), 7  
 Ceyti (செய்தி), 18  
 Cey-y-āḷ (செய்யாள்), 30  
 Cey-y-āṇ (செய்யான்), 30  
 Cey-y-ā-tu (செய்யாது), 30  
 Cyya-māṭṭāḷ (செய்யமாட்டான்),  
 30

- Ceyya-māṭṭāṇ (செய்யமாட் டான்), 30  
 Chappar, 44  
 Chariot, 44  
 Chave (key), 43  
 Cheque, 47  
 Chit, 55  
 Chiṭṭhi, 55  
 Christ, 56  
 Chocolat, 40  
 Chōkrā, 59  
 Church, 27  
 Cidambaram (சிதம்பரம்), 14f.  
 Cigarette, 44  
 Cikaraṭṭu (சிகரட்டு), 44  
 Cikku (சீக்கு), 3, 57  
 Cikku-k-kāraṇ (சீக்குக்காரன்), 23f.  
 Cil (சீல்), 53  
 Cilambaram (சிலம்பரம்), 14f.  
 Cilappatikāram (சிலப்பதிகாரம்), 2, 23f.  
 Cilāvaṇi (சிலாவணி), 46  
 Cilavu (சிலவு), 10  
 Cilēbi (சிலேபி), 39  
 Cilēṭṭu (சிலேட்டு), 43  
 Ciluvai (சிலுவை), 56  
 Cil-vāṇam (சில்வானம்), 25f.  
 Cimikki (சமிக்கி), 37  
 Cimiṭṭi (சமிட்டி), 43  
 Cinattan (சினத்தன்), 23f.  
 Ciṇḍaram (சீண்டரம்), 62  
 Cinnam-ciru (சின்னம்சிறு), 35  
 Cinnā-t-taṇam (சின்னத்தனம்), 24  
 Cintāmaṇi (சிந்தாமணி), 2  
 Cippam (சிப்பம்), 62  
 Cippamu, 62  
 Cippandi (சிப்பந்தி), 53  
 Cippi (சிப்பி), 33  
 Cirai (சிறை), 6  
 Cirāṅgu (சிரங்கு), 6  
 Cirāppu (சிராப்பு), 46  
 Cirastār (சிரஸ்தார்), 49  
 Cirāy (சிராய்), 37  
 Circle, 52  
 Ciricu (சிறிசு), 14  
 Ciritu (சிறிது), 14  
 Cirrai (சிறறை), 18  
 Cirrāy (சிறுய்), 18  
 Cirucu (சிறுசு), 14  
 Cirumi (சிறுமி), 2  
 Ciru-mai (சிறுமை), 24  
 Cirumai-taṇam (சிறுமை-தனம்), 24  
 Cirumai-t-taṇam (சிறுமைத் தனம்), 24  
 Cirumiyar (சிறுமியர்), 2f.  
 Ciru-peṇkaḷ (சிறுபெண்கள்), 2f.  
 Cita-nāḍu (சீதநாடு), 32f.  
 Ciṭṭai (சிட்டை), 46  
 Cittalai-c-cāttanār (சீத்தலைச் சாத்தனார்), 1  
 Citthā, 46  
 Citti (சித்தி), 18  
 Cittā-p-palam (சீத்தாப்பழம்), 40  
 Ciṭṭu (சீட்டு), 55  
 Civappu (சிவப்பு), 11, 34  
 Civappu-reṭṭu (சிவப்புரெட்டு), 34  
 Civil, 51  
 Cīvil (சீவில்), 51  
 Ciyam (சீயம்), 33  
 Classical Languages, 36  
 Clip, 54  
 Close, 61  
 Clover, 55  
 Club, 61  
 Cluster, 43  
 Coach, 44  
 Coat, 38  
 Cocoa, 41  
 Cōdā (சோதா), 59  
 Cōḍā (சோடா), 41  
 Coffee, 41  
 Cojji (சொஜ்ஜி), 39  
 Cokkāy (சொக்காய்), 37

Cōkkirā (சேக்கிரா), 59  
 Collar, 38  
 Collector, 48  
 Colour, 41, 61  
 Colours, 57  
 Column, 61  
 Communication, 45  
 Compound, 41  
 Confection and Condiments, 38  
 Consonants, 11  
 Contract, 45  
 Conveyance, 44  
 Cōppu (சோப்பு), 44  
 Coraṇḍu (சொரண்டு), 8  
 Corugu (சொருகு), 10  
 Cōṭṭā (சோட்டா), 54  
 Coṭṭai (சொட்டை), 62  
 Court, 51  
 Court-card, 55  
 Cover, 45  
 Cozinha, 41  
 Cravado?, 40  
 Creditor, 25f.  
 Cricket, 55  
 Criminal, 50  
 Cubēdār (சுபேதார்), 54  
 Cuisine, 41  
 Cukkāṇ (சக்கான்), 55  
 Cuḷaku (சுளகு), 13  
 Cuḷaṟru (சுழற்று), 16  
 Cuḷaṭṭu (சுழட்டு), 16  
 Cuḷavu (சுளவு), 13  
 Cūṇaku (சுணகு), 21  
 Cuṇaṅgaṇ (சுணங்கன்), 21  
 Cuṅgam (சங்கம்), 33  
 Cuṇṇa, 33  
 Cuṇṇam (சுன்னம்), 33  
 Cuṇṇam (சண்ணம்), 33  
 Cup, 42  
 Cūppiraṇḍu (சூப்பிரண்டு), 53  
 Curaṇḍu, (சரண்டு), 8  
 Cūrā-vaḷi-k-kāttu (சூரவளிக்  
 காத்து), 34

Cūrā-vaḷi-k-kārru (சூரவளிக்  
 காற்று), 34  
 Cūrṇa, 33  
 Currency, 47  
 Cutta-vāḷi (சுத்தவாளி), 25  
 Cūṭṭu (சுட்டு), 38  
 Cuvar (சுவர்), 9f.  
 Cycle (bi-cycle), 44

## D

Ḍabba, 43  
 Ḍabēdār (டபேதார்), 51  
 Daf'a, 59  
 Daffardār, 51  
 Ḍaimaṇ (டைமன்), 55  
 Dakhil, 49  
 Dakhil, 59  
 Dākṭar (டாக்டர்), 57  
 Ḍalāyattu (டலாயத்து), 51  
 Dam, 59  
 Dāmaṇi, 37  
 Dāmaṇi (தாமணி), 15  
 Daṁgar, 39  
 Daṁṇi, 47  
 Dance, 61  
 Ḍaṇḍ, 55  
 Daṇḍa, 4  
 Daṇḍā, 59  
 Daṅgā (டங்கா), 54  
 Ḍankā, 54  
 Ḍāṇsu (டான்சு), 61  
 Dār (தார்), 25  
 Dāran, (தாரன்), 25  
 Darbār, 53  
 Darkhāsl, 49  
 Daryāft, 59  
 Dasahrā, 56  
 Ḍasaṇ (டசன்), 47  
 Dasta, 47  
 Dast-āvēz, 51  
 Dāvaṇi (தாவணி), 15  
 Da'wa, 51

Decree, 51  
 Dēgoa, 42  
 Ḍēmaṇi (டேமணி), 49  
 Deposit, 46  
 Dērā (டேரா), 49  
 Ḍhalit, 51  
 Dhamk, 51  
 Dhaṇḍhōrā, 51  
 Dhāra, 25  
 Dhati, 33  
 Dhātri, 33  
 Dhobī, 59  
 Dhōti, 37  
 Ḍiamond, 55  
 Dibbī (ḍabbī), 43  
 Dil-rūbā, 56  
 Dimmisa, 62  
 Ḍirāmā (டிராமா), 61  
 Ḍirāyar (டிராயர்), 37  
 Dissimilation, 22  
 Diwālī, 59  
 Diwān, 53  
 Diwālā, 51  
 Dobāshī, 46  
 Ḍōriyā (டோரியா), 37  
 Dozen, 47  
 Dōbi (டோபி), 59  
 Doce, 40  
 Doctor, 57  
 Dōlak, 56  
 Ḍōlak (டோலக்), 56  
 Dōlī, 44  
 Ḍōli (டோலி), 44  
 Dorasānī, 62  
 Drama, 61  
 Drawers, 37  
 Dresser, 57  
 Dū-paṭṭa, 37  
 Dutch, 3, 36, 43f.  
 Duwālī, 51

## E

E (ஏ), 4, 5, 6, 9f., 10, 11  
 Ē (ஏ), 10f, 11f.  
 Easy-chair, 42  
 Ēbhrāsi, 62  
 Eccī (எச்சி), 17  
 Eccil (எச்சில்), 17  
 Eḍakkar (எடக்கர்), 13  
 Eḍam (எடம்), 5  
 Ēhadār (ஏகதார்), 56  
 Ekkar (எக்கர்), 13  
 Ēkkar (ஏக்கர்), 47  
 Ēk-tārka, 56  
 Ēlā (ஏலா), 19  
 Ēlā (ஏளா), 19  
 Eladu, 8f.  
 Elai (எலை), 5  
 Ēlam (ஏலம்), 3, 50  
 Ēlām-poruttam (ஏழாம் பொருத்தம்), 35  
 Eḷanīr (எளநீர்), 6  
 Eḷavu (எழவு), 6  
 Elecṣan (எலெக்ஷன்), 52  
 Election, 52  
 Ēlum (ஏலும்), 18  
 Eḷumbu (எழும்பு), 21  
 Eḷumbūr (எழும்பூர்), 21  
 Elumiccai (எலுமிச்சை), 40  
 Eḷumūr (எழுமூர்), 21  
 Eḷundiru (எழுந்திரு), 21  
 Eḷuvaṇ (எலுவன்), 32f,  
 Embadu (எம்பது), 12  
 Embu (எம்பு), 21  
 E-m-maram, (எம்மரம்), 28  
 Ēn (ஏன்), 20  
 Eṇakku (எனக்கு), 8  
 Eṇam (எனம்), 6  
 Enamel, 61  
 Eṇāmal (எனாமல்), 61  
 Eṇbadu (எண்பது), 12  
 Eṇbi (எண்டி), 16f,  
 Eṇbi (என்பி), 16f,  
 Enda maram (எந்த மரம்), 28



Enda-viḍu (எந்த வீடு), 28  
 Endiru (எந்திரு), 21  
 Ēṇḍu (ஏண்டு), 16  
 Eṅgāṇ (எங்கான்), 28f.  
 Engine, 42  
 English, 3, 36, 61  
 Eṇ-k-āṇ (என்கான்), 28f.  
 Eṇ-kir-āṇ (என்கிருன்), 28f.  
 Eṇ-mar (எண்மர்), 26  
 Eṇṇai (எண்ணை), 18  
 Eṇṇey (எண்ணெய்), 18  
 Eṇṇadu (எண்பது), 21  
 Eṇṇadu (எண்பளது), 21  
 Ēṇru (ஏன்று), 16  
 Ēppirāsi (ஏப்பிராசி), 62  
 Eraval (ஏரவல்), 6  
 Ērōpḷēṇ (ஏரோப்ளேன்), 44  
 Ēseṇḍu (ஏசெண்டு), 52  
 Estate, 52  
 Estēṭṭu (எஸ்டேட்டு), 52  
 Estirar, 58  
 Ēṭṭu (ஏட்டு), 54, 61  
 Eṭṭu-p-pēr (எட்டுப்பேர்), 26  
 Euphonic permutation, 31  
 Even (எவென்), 20  
 E-v-viḍu (எவ்வீடு), 28  
 Eyalum (எயலும்), 18  
 Ēy-k-k-āḷ (ஏய்க்காள்), 29  
 Ēy-k-k-āṇ (ஏய்க்கான்), 29  
 Ēy-k-kir-āḷ (ஏய்க்கிருள்), 29  
 Ēy-k-kir-āṇ (ஏய்க்கிருன்), 29  
 Ēy-k-kir-atu (ஏய்க்கிறது), 29  
 Ēy-k-k-utu (ஏய்க்குது), 29

## F

Faqīr, 56  
 Faryād, 51  
 Faṣḷī, 49, 60  
 Fawz, 60  
 Fayṣal, 51  
 Fees, 51  
 Fiddle, 57

Fidwī, 53  
 Firangī, 54  
 Firqa, 53  
 Flannel, 38  
 Flute, 57  
 Frangī, 54  
 French, 36  
 Fruits and Drinks, 40  
 Fund, 46  
 Funnel, 43  
 Furlong, 47  
 Furniture, 42

## G

Gaḍong, 46  
 Games and Physical exercise, 55  
 Gaṅgā, 4  
 Gānjhā, 44  
 Gaṛh, 58  
 Gāṛikhāna, 41  
 Garuḍa cērvai (கருட சேர்வை), 20  
 Gate, 34, 41  
 Gati, 4  
 Gaz, 47  
 Ghabrī, 58  
 Ghilāt, 58  
 Ghuzlī, 46  
 Gild (Gilt), 61  
 Giṇḍī, 42  
 Girder, 41  
 Goiaba, 40  
 Goldsmith, 35  
 Gōlī (Gūlī), 43  
 Gōl-māl, 58  
 Golusu (கொலுசு), 36  
 Gōnd, 54  
 Gōr, 41  
 Gōru, 8f.  
 Gosha-nishīn, 58  
 Gōshwāra, 48  
 Governor, 52

Grade, 41  
 Gubār (குபார்), 22  
 Guayaba, 40  
 Gul-qand, 39  
 Gumāshta, 48  
 Guṇḍā, 42  
 Guzri, 18f.

## H

Hadd, 47  
 Halwa, 23  
 Ḥalwā', 38  
 Ham-dast, 58  
 Hanḍā, 42  
 Haplology, 22  
 Haqq-dār, 25  
 Harmonie, 57  
 Harmonium, 57  
 Ḥāṣil, 48  
 Ḥāzir, 50  
 Head, 61  
 Head constable, 54  
 Hearing, 50  
 Hearts, 55  
 Heir, 25f.  
 Hilka, 58  
 Hindi, 18f.  
 Hindustani, 36, 58, 62f.  
 Hockey, 55  
 Hook, 42  
 Hospital, 19f., 23, 57  
 Hotel, 61  
 Huḍukka, 23  
 Hukta, 23  
 Huṇḍi, 23, 45  
 Hundred, 22  
 Hundred-weight, 47  
 Ḥuqqa, 44  
 Hurricane lamp, 42  
 Hushyār, 58  
 Ḥuzūr, 48

## I

I (இ), 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 18f.  
 Ī (ஈ), 6f.  
 Iccai (இச்சை), 5f.  
 Īccēr (ஈச்சேர்), 42  
 Iccu (இச்சு), 29  
 Ice-cream, 40  
 Idā, 3  
 Iḍainilai (இடைநிலை), 28  
 Iḍakkar (இடக்கர்), 13  
 Iḍukki (இடுக்கி), 13f.  
 Iḍam (இடம்), 5  
 Iḍuppu (இடுப்பு), 5f.  
 Iḍinda (இடிந்த), 14  
 Iḍiñja (இடிஞ்சு), 14  
 Ihuḷai (இகுளை), 32f.  
 Ikkuḷa, 13f.  
 Ikkuḷi, 13f.  
 Iladu (இலது), 8f.  
 Ilai (இலை), 5  
 Ilākka (இலாக்கா), 52  
 Iḷanir (இளநீர்), 6  
 'Ilāqa, 52  
 Ilavu (இழவு), 6  
 Iḷippu (இளிப்பு), 5f.  
 Iḷivu (இளிவு), 5f.  
 Illai (இல்லை), 5f.  
 Iluppai (இலுப்பை), 18  
 Iluppu (இலுப்பு), 5f.  
 'Imārī, 54  
 Immi (இம்மி), 5f.  
 Inam (இனம்), 6  
 In'am, 48  
 Inām (இனம்), 48  
 Inām-dār (இனம்தார்), 25  
 Inch, 47  
 Inferiors, 27  
 Inḡāṇ (இங்கான்), 28f.  
 Inippu (இனிப்பு), 5f.  
 Injīṇ (இஞ்சின்), 42  
 Inju (இஞ்சு), 47  
 Innam (இன்னம்), 9f.

- Innum (இன்னும்), 9f.  
 Insālmēṇḍu (இன்சால்மெண்டு), 50  
 Insolvent, 50  
 Insūr (இன்சூர்), 45  
 Insurance, 45  
 Ippa, 19f.  
 Ippe, 19f.  
 Iraṇḍu (இரண்டு), 22  
 Iraṇḍu-pēr (இரண்டுபேர்), 26  
 Īraṅgi (ஈரங்கி), 50  
 Ir-ā-tu (இராது), 30  
 Iraval (இரவல்), 6  
 Irru (இற்று), 5f., 29  
 Irsāl, 48  
 Iru-k-k-āḷ (இருக்காள்), 29  
 Iru-k-k-āṇ (இருக்கான்), 29  
 Iru-k-kā-tu (இருக்காது), 30  
 Iru-k-kir-āḷ (இருக்கிறாள்), 29  
 Iru-k-kir-āṇ (இருக்கிறான்), 29  
 Iru-k-kir-atu (இருக்கிறது), 29  
 Iru-k-kum (இருக்கும்), 30  
 Iru-k-k-utu (இருக்குது), 29  
 Irukkutugaḷ (இருக்குதுகள்), 27f.  
 Iruntadugaḷ (இருந்ததுகள்), 27.  
 Iruppai (இருப்பை), 18, 19f.  
 Irusāl (இருசால்), 48  
 Iruṭṭu (இருட்டு), 5f.  
 Iru-v-ar (இருவர்), 26  
 Ishtihār, 50  
 Ispēṭ (இஸ்பேட்), 55  
 Istiri (இஸ்திரி), 58  
 Istiyār (இஸ்தியார்), 50  
 Istri, 58  
 Isukkōl (இசுக்கோல்), 42  
 'Itr, 44  
 Ittu (இத்து), 29  
 Itu (இது), 5f.  
 Itugaḷ (இதுகள்), 27f.  
 Ivan (இவன்), 5f.  
 'Iwaz, 48  
 Iyalum (இயலும்), 18  
 Iyarcol (இயற்சொல்), 32  
 Izār, 38
- ## J
- Jābtā (ஜாப்தா), 60  
 Jack, 44, 55  
 Jacket, 37  
 Jāḍj (ஜட்ஜ்), 52  
 Jaffna, 16, 21  
 Jaga, 4, 60  
 Jagat, 4  
 Jāhai (ஜாகை), 60  
 Jail, 52  
 Jākki (ஜாக்கி), 44, 55  
 Jālar (ஜாலர்), 57  
 Jaldi (ஜல்தி), 60  
 Jaldī, 60  
 Jam ' , 60  
 Jamā (ஜமா), 60  
 Jamābandi (ஜமாபந்தி), 50  
 Jam' bandi, 50  
 Jamīn (ஜமீன்), 50  
 Jāmīn (ஜாமீன்), 50  
 Jamkūrā, 43  
 Janela, 41  
 Japti (ஜப்தி), 50  
 Jāri (ஜாரி), 50  
 Jārī, 50  
 Jarra, 43  
 Jarūr (ஜரூர்), 60  
 Jāsti (ஜாஸ்தி), 50  
 Jaṭkā (ஜட்கா), 44  
 Javāb, (ஜவாப்), 50, 60  
 Javān (ஜவான்), 55  
 Jawāb, 50, 60  
 Jawān, 55  
 Jayb, 61  
 Jeb, 61  
 Jēppu (ஜேப்பு), 61  
 Jesus, 56  
 Jeyil (ஜெயில்), 52  
 Jhālari, 57

Jhaṇḍā, 53  
 Jhaṭti, 48  
 Jhaṭkā, 44  
 Jhawṛā, 59  
 Jillā (ஜில்லா), 53  
 Jīndramu, 62  
 Jinrikṣa, 45  
 Jins, 46  
 Jinshiwār, 46  
 Jippā (ஜிப்பா), 38  
 Jōḍanai (ஜோடனை), 61  
 Jōḍu (ஜோடு), 38  
 Jōṛ, 38  
 Jōr (ஜோர்), 61  
 Jubba, 38  
 Judge, 52  
 Judicial, 50

## K

K (க்), 12, 13, 20  
 Kā (கா), 5  
 Kacahrī, 50  
 Kacam (கசம்), 17  
 Kaccā, 39  
 Kaccēri (கச்சேரி), 50  
 Kaḍā (கடா), 4  
 Kaḍai (கடை), 34  
 Kaḍai-basār (கடை பசார்), 34  
 Kaḍai-vāy (கடைவாய்), 11  
 Kaḍal-k-karai (கடல்க்கரை), 31  
 Kadar (கதர்), 37  
 Kaḍarḱarai (கடற்கரை), 31  
 Kaḍavāy (கடவாய்), 11  
 Kadi (கதி), 4  
 Kaḍivāḷam (கடிவாளம்), 7f.  
 Kāḍiyānā (காடியானா), 41  
 Kāḍu (காடு), 25f.  
 Kāḍu-kiḍu (காடுகீடு), 26  
 Kadu-kuttal (காது குத்தல்), 35  
 Kaḍutāsi (கடுதாசி), 45  
 Kaḍuvaḷam (கடுவாளம்), 7f.  
 Kāghidh, 54  
 Kāhidam (காகிதம்), 54

Kāhil, 58  
 Kaidi (கைதி), 51  
 Kaidu (கைது), 48  
 Kaiyar (கையர்), 32f.  
 Kakhhuis, 41  
 Kākkā (காக்கா), 18f.  
 Kākkai (காக்கை), 18f.  
 Kākkāy (காக்காய்), 18f.  
 Kākkāy-piḍittal (காக்காய்  
 பிடித்தல்), 36  
 Kākki (காக்கி), 57  
 Kakkūsu (கக்கூசு), 41  
 Kalai (கலை), 19  
 Kaḷai (கலை), 19  
 Kalam (கலம்), 61  
 Kālambara (காலம்பற), 11  
 Kālambera (காலம்பெற), 11  
 Kaḷani (கழனி), 9  
 Kaḷanir (கழநீர்), 9  
 Kaḷaṇji, (கழஞ்சி), 10  
 Kaḷaṇju (கழஞ்சு), 10  
 Kalar (கலர்), 41, 61  
 Kālar (காலர்), 38  
 Kaḷarṛu (கழற்று), 16  
 Kalāṭṭā (கலாட்டா), 58  
 Kaḷaṭṭu (கழட்டு), 16  
 Kalāy (கலாய்), 58  
 Kalekṭar (கலெக்டர்), 48  
 Kāli (காலி), 58  
 Kaḷicca (கழிச்சு), 14  
 Kaliṅgu (கலிங்கு), 7  
 Kaḷitta (கழித்த), 14  
 Kaḷḷan (கள்ளன்), 22  
 Kaḷ-ḷu-k-kaḍai (கள்ளக் கடை), 31  
 Kal-lu-malai (கல்லு மலை), 31  
 Kal-nāḍu (கல் நாடு), 32  
 Kal-t-tūṇ (கலத்தூண்), 31  
 Kaḷuki (கழுகி), 20  
 Kaluṅgu (கலுங்கு), 7  
 Kaḷunīr (கழுநீர்), 9  
 Kaḷuvi (கழுவி), 20  
 Kaḷvan (கள்வன்), 22  
 Kamān, 41

- Kamāṇ (கமான்), 41  
 Kāmarā (காமரா), 21  
 Kamās (கமாஸ்), 57  
 Kāmbārā (காம்பரா), 41  
 Kāmbavunḍu (காம்பவுண்டு), 41  
 Kambi-niṭṭal (கம்பி நீட்டல்), 35  
 Kāmbārā (காம்ப்ரா), 21  
 Kamī, 48  
 Kamisu (கமிசு), 37  
 Kammi (கம்மி), 48  
 Kaṇ (கண்), 12  
 Kaṇā (கனா), 4, 5  
 Kanarese, 36  
 Kaṇavu (கனவு), 5  
 Kañca-kārar (கஞ்சகாரர்), 23f.  
 Kaṇḍi (கண்டி), 47  
 Kaṇḍirākaṭṭu (கண்டிராக்கட்டு), 45  
 Kandiri (கந்திரி), 56  
 Kandūri, 56  
 Kaṇgai (கங்கை), 4  
 Kaṇḍāṇam (கங்காணம்), 12f.  
 Kaṇha, 33  
 Kañjā (கஞ்சா), 44  
 Kāñja (காஞ்சு), 15  
 Kañjikki, (கஞ்சிக்கி), 10  
 Kañjikkū (கஞ்சிக்கு), 10  
 Kañjirā (கஞ்சிரா), 56  
 Kaṇ-kāṇam (கண் காணம்), 12f.  
 Kaṇmalai (கன்மலை), 31  
 Kaṇṇāḍu (கண்ணாடு), 32  
 Kaṇṇalamudu (கன்னலமுது), 16f.  
 Kaṇṇalamudu (கண்ணலமுது) 16f.  
 Kaṇṇamudu (கண்ணமுது), 16f.  
 Kaṇṇaṇ (கண்ணன்), 33  
 Kaṇṇ-añ-garēr (கன்னங்கேர்), 35  
 Kaṇṇaṇ-pāṭṭu (கண்ணன் பாட்டு), 29f.  
 Kaṇṇi (கன்னி), 16f.  
 Kaṇṇu (கன்னு), 16  
 Kaṇṇu (கண்ணு), 12, 16  
 Kaṇṇi (கன்றி), 16f.  
 Kaṇṇu (கன்று), 16  
 Kāṇugō (கானுகோ), 48  
 Kapi (கபி), 15  
 Kapparai (கப்பரை), 33  
 Kappi (கப்பி), 43  
 Kāppi (காப்பி), 41  
 Kāprā (காப்ரா), 58  
 Kār (கார்), 44  
 Karai-kirai (கறைகிறை), 26  
 Karaital (கரைதல்), 3f.  
 Karāḷi (கராளி), 4  
 Kāram-būndi, 38  
 Kāraṇ (காரன்), 23  
 Kārā-p-pūndi (காராப்பூந்தி), 38  
 Karār (கரார்), 45  
 Kārattū (காரட்டு), 47  
 Karḍar (கர்டர்), 41  
 Kārḍu (கார்டு), 45  
 Kāri (காரி), 23  
 Karināl (கரிநான்), 7f.  
 Kaṛkā-nāḍu (கற்கா நாடு), 32f.  
 Kaṇṇā (கர்னா), 57  
 Karranāy, 57  
 Kaṇṇūṇ (கற்றூண்), 31  
 Kāru-bār, 48  
 Karunāl (கருநான்), 7f.  
 Karuvāḍu (கருவாடு), 40  
 Kārvār (கார்வார்), 48  
 Kasakasā (கசகசா), 44  
 Kasaṇā (கசனா), 48  
 Kasāppu (கசாப்பு), 45  
 Kasar (கசர்), 45  
 Kasarattu (கசரத்து), 55  
 Kaspā (கஸ்பா), 52  
 Kasrat, 55  
 Kaṭkaḍai (கட்கடை), 31  
 Kaṭṭaḍam (கட்டடம்), 7  
 Kattān, 43  
 Kattari (கத்தரி), 5  
 Kaṭṭiḍam (கட்டிடம்), 7  
 Kattiri (கத்திரி), 5  
 Kaṭṭu (கட்டு), 4

- Kaṭṭu-aviṭṭal (கட்டு அவிழ்த்தல்), 35  
 Kaṭṭu-māṇam (கட்டுமானம்), 25f.  
 Kaṭṭu-muṭṭu (கட்டுமுட்டு), 35  
 Kāval-āḷaṇ (காவலாளன்), 23f.  
 Kāval-āli (காவலாளி), 23f.  
 Kāvāli (காவாலி), 58  
 Kāval-kāraṇ (காவல்காரன்), 23f.  
 Kāvandu (காவந்து), 52  
 Kavar (கவர்), 45  
 Kavarnar (கவர்னார்), 52  
 Kavi (கவி), 15  
 Kāvu (காவு), 5  
 Kavul (கவுல்), 48  
 Kāy (காய்), 12  
 Kāyalā (காயலா), 58  
 Kayam (கயம்), 17  
 Kāyam (காயம்), 48  
 Kayaru (கயறு), 7  
 Kāyi (காயி), 12  
 Kayiru (கயிறு), 7  
 Kāynda (காயந்த), 15  
 Kāyñja (காயஞ்ச), 15  
 K. d. (known depredator), 51  
 Keḍai (கெடை), 6  
 Kedi (கெதி), 4  
 Keḍi (கெடி), 58  
 Kēḍi (கேடி), 51  
 Keḍu (கெடு), 10  
 Kēdu (கேது), 48  
 Keḍu-v-u (கெடுவு), 10  
 Kē-k-k-āḷ (கேக்காள்), 28f.  
 Kē-k-k-āṇ (கேக்கான்), 28f.  
 Kēkku (கேக்கு), 40  
 Kē-k-k-utu (கேக்குது), 28f.  
 Kēlā, 41  
 Keḷaṅgu (கெழங்கு), 6  
 Kēḷ-k-k-āḷ (கேளக்காள்), 28f.  
 Kēḷ-k-k-āṇ (கேளக்கான்), 28f.  
 Kēḷ-k-k-utu (கேளக்குது), 28f.  
 Kēḷppai (கேழ்ப்பை), 17  
 Keṇḍi (கெண்டி), 42  
 Keṇḍai (கெங்கை), 4  
 Kēṇi (கேணி), 32f.  
 Kēppai (கேப்பை), 17  
 Kesam (கெசம்), 47  
 Kēśarī, 39  
 Kēsari (கேசரி), 39  
 Kēsu (கேசு), 51  
 Kēṭ-kir-āḷ (கேட்கிறான்), 28f.  
 Kēṭ-kir-āṇ (கேட்கிறான்), 28f.  
 Kēṭ-kir-atu (கேட்கிறது), 28f.  
 Keṭṭil (கெட்டில்), 42  
 Kettle, 42  
 Keṭṭu (கெட்டு), 4, 41  
 Kēṭṭu-vāsai (கேட்டு வாசல்), 34  
 Khāki, 57  
 Khāli, 58  
 Khaṇḍil, 47  
 Khanjan, 56  
 Khappara, 33  
 Khashkhāsh, 44  
 Khāwand, 52  
 Khēt, 48  
 Khichṛī, 39  
 Khīr, 39  
 Khizāna, 48  
 Kho'ā, 39  
 Khoprā, 43  
 Khudrā, 37  
 Khumāsī, 57  
 Khush—hāl, 58  
 Khushī, 58  
 Ki (கி), 26  
 Kī (கி), 26  
 Kibāyattu (கிபாயத்து), 48  
 Kiccaḍi (கிச்சடி), 39  
 Kiḍā (கிடா), 4  
 Kiḍai (கிடை), 6  
 Kiḍaṅgu, 46f.  
 Kifāyat, 48, 58  
 Kīl (கீல்), 43  
 Kiḷaṅgu (கிழங்கு), 6  
 Kiḷappu (கிளப்பு), 61  
 Kiḷāvar (கிளாவர்), 55

Kilippu (கிலிப்பு), 54  
 Kiluṭṭu (கிலுட்டு), 61  
 Kiṇā (கிணை), 4  
 Kiṇḡiṇi (கிங்கிணி), 12f.  
 Kiṇ-kiṇi (கிண்கிணி), 12f.  
 Kiṇṇaram (கின்னரம்), 16f.  
 Kiṇṇāram (கின்னாரம்), 16f.  
 Kiṇṇāram (கின்னாரம்), 16f.  
 Kipāyattu (கிபாயத்து), 58  
 Kir (கீர்), 39  
 Kirādi (கிராதி), 41  
 Kirāli (கிராளி), 4  
 Kirikkēṭṭu (கிரிக்கெட்டு), 55  
 Kirimiṇal (கிரிமினல்), 50  
 Kiristu (கிறிஸ்து), 56  
 Kuru (கறு), 28  
 Kistu (கிஸ்து), 48  
 Kittāṇ (கித்தான்), 43  
 Kṭṭāṅgi (கிட்டங்கி), 46  
 Koccu (கொச்சு), 39  
 Kōccu (கோச்சு), 44  
 Kocu (கொசு), 14f.  
 Kocuku (கொசுகு), 14f.  
 Koḍai (கொடை), 8  
 Koḍiyaḷ (கொடியல்), 24  
 Koḍiyan (கொடியன்), 24  
 Koḍu (கொடு), 11  
 Koḍukki (கொடுக்கி), 13  
 Koduku (கொதுகு), 14f.  
 Kōdumai (கோதுமை), 21  
 Koḍumai-k-kāraṇ (கொடுமைக் காரன்), 24  
 Koḍumai-k-kāri (கொடுமைக் காரி), 24  
 Kōdumbai (கோதும்பை), 21  
 Koḍuntamiḷ Nadu (கொடுத்தமிழ் நாடு), 2  
 Kokki (கொக்கி), 13  
 Kokkō (கொக்கோ), 41  
 Kōlā (கோலா), 41  
 Kolai-kāraṇ (கொலைகாரன்), 23f.  
 Kolai-y-āḷaṇ (கொலையாளன்), 23f.

Kolai-y-āḷi (கொலையாளி), 23f.  
 Kōlandai (கொழந்தை), 20  
 Kōli (கோலி), 43  
 Kolusu (கொலுசு), 36  
 Kombēri-mūkkaṇ (கொம்பேரி முக்கன்), 17f.  
 Kōndai (கோந்தை), 20  
 Kōndu (கோந்து), 54  
 Koṇḍuvandu, (கொண்டுவந்து), 13  
 Koṇja-naṇjam (கொஞ்ச நஞ்சம்), 34  
 Kōṅgamār (கோங்கமார்), 12f.  
 Kōṇ-kaḷ-mār (கோன்கள்மார்), 12f.  
 Koṇṇāndu (கொண்ணாந்து), 13  
 Koṇṇuvandu (கொண்ணுவந்து), 13  
 Koṇṭu-pōtal (கொண்டு போதல்),  
 Kōpa-k-kāraṇ (கோபக் காரன்), 23f.  
 Kōppai (கோப்பை), 42  
 Kopparai (கொப்பரை), 43  
 Koppuḷam (கொப்புளம்), 22  
 Koraṅgu (கொரங்கு), 8  
 Kōri (கோரி), 41  
 Kōṟṟavai (கொற்றவை), 18f.  
 Kaṟṟavay (கொற்றவய்), 18f.  
 Kōṟṭṭu (கோர்ட்டு), 51  
 Kōrvai (கோர்வை), 21  
 Kōṟṣā (கோஷா), 58  
 Kōsaramu, 62  
 Kōsaram (கோசரம்), 62  
 Kōśimbari, 39  
 Kōsmās (கோஸ்மாஸ்), 58  
 Kōspārā (கோஸ்பாரா), 48  
 Kōsumbari (கோசும்பரி), 39  
 Kōtāh, 58  
 Kōthṟi, 51  
 Kōṭṭā (கோட்டா), 58  
 Kōṭṭādi (கோட்டடி), 51  
 Kōṭṭu (கோட்டு), 38, 55  
 Kottuvāl (கொத்துவால்), 48

- Kotwāl, 48  
 Kōvā (கோவா), 39  
 Kōvai (கோவை), 21  
 Koyar (கொயர்), 47  
 Kōyil-c-celavu (கோயில்ச் செலவு), 31f.  
 Koyinā (கொயினா), 57  
 Kōyircelavu (கொயிற் செலவு), 31f.  
 Koyyā (கொய்யா), 40  
 Kṛṣṇa, 33  
 Ku (கு), 10  
 Kucavan (குசவன்), 17  
 Kucili (குசிலி), 18f.  
 Kudaccu (குதச்சு), 11  
 Kuḍai (குடை), 8  
 Kudaiccu (குதைச்சு), 11  
 Kuḍakkūli (குடக்கூலி), 7  
 Kuḍa-nāḍu, (குடநாடு), 2, 32f.  
 Kuḍikkūli (குடிக்கூலி), 7  
 Kuḍi-mai (குடிமை), 24  
 Kuḍittanāṁ (குடித்தனம்), 7f., 24  
 Kuḍittuṇi (குடித்துணி), 37  
 Kuḍu (குடு), 11  
 Kuḍumbi (குடும்பி), 2, 18f.  
 Kuḍumi (குடுமி), 21  
 Kuḍuttanāṁ (குடுத்தனம்), 7f.  
 Kuḍuvai, (குடுவை), 18  
 Kuḍuvāy (குடுவாய்), 18  
 Kūjā (கூஜா), 42  
 Kūkai (கூகை), 13  
 Kūl (கூழ்), 12  
 Kūlāh, 37  
 Kulaittal, (குலைத்தல்), 19  
 Kuḷa-k-kaḍai-t-teru (கூளக்கடைத் தெரு), 19  
 Kūlam (கூலம்), 19  
 Kūḷam (கூளம்), 19  
 Kuḷandai (குழந்தை), 20  
 Kuḷavai, (குலவை), 18  
 Kuḷirtal (குளிர் தல்), 3f.  
 Kuḷir-tāmarai (குளிர் தாமரை), 19  
 Kuḷi-tāmarai, (குளி தாமரை), 19  
 Kulkandu (குல்கந்து), 39  
 Kullā (குல்லா), 37  
 Kullā-p-pōḍutal (குல்லாப் போடு தல்), 36  
 Kulōsu (குளோசு), 61  
 Kūlppadanir (கூழ்ப்பதநீர்), 20  
 Kūlu (கூழு), 12  
 Kumāstā (குமாஸ்தா), 48  
 Kumbiḍu (கும்பிடு), 7  
 Kumbuḍu (கும்புடு), 7  
 Kumittal (குமித்தல்), 20  
 Kuṇḍāṇ (குண்டான்), 42  
 Kuṇḍil (குண்டில்), 17f.  
 Kuṇḍu (குண்டு), 17f.  
 Kunnattūr (குன்னத்தூர்), 16f.  
 Kunnimuttu (குன்னிமுத்து), 16f.  
 Kunnrattūr (குன்றத்தூர்), 16f.  
 Kunnrimuttu (குன்றிமுத்து), 16f.  
 Kūppadani (கூப்பதநி), 20  
 Kuppi, 43  
 Kuppi (குப்பி), 43  
 Kuraittal (குரைத்தல்), 19  
 Kurāṇ (குரான்), 56  
 Kurāṇḡu (குரங்கு), 8  
 Kuravai (குரவை), 18  
 Kuricci (குரிச்சி), 42  
 Kuṛra-vāḷi (குற்றவாளி), 25  
 Kursi, 42  
 Kurta, 37  
 Kurunai (குருளை), 18  
 Kurunai (குறுகினை), 18  
 Kurunai (குறுணி), 32f.  
 Kuṛu-noy (குறுகொய்), 18  
 Kuṛumbi (குறும்பி), 18f.  
 Kuṛumbu-taṇam, (குறும்புதனம்), 24f.  
 Kuṛumbu-t-taṇam (குறும்புத் தனம்), 24f.  
 Kuṛuvāy (குறுவாய்), 18f.  
 Kūsā (கூசா), 42  
 Kuṣāl (குஷால்), 58  
 Kuṣi (குஷி), 58



Kusili (குசிலி), 46  
 Kusini (குசினி), 41  
 Kusumbā (குசும்பா), 57  
 Kusumbi, 57  
 Kuttagai-dāraṇ (குத்தகைதாரன்), 25f.  
 Kuṭṭai (குட்டை), 32f.  
 Kuṭṭa-nāḍu (குட்டநாடு), 32f.  
 Kūvai (கூவை), 13  
 Kuvittal (குவித்தல்), 20  
 Kuyavaṇ (குயவன்), 17  
 Kūz, 42  
 Kavāttu (கவாத்து), 55

## L

L (ல்), 14f., 18, 19, 32  
 L (ழ்), 20  
 L (ள்), 19, 20, 21, 32  
 Label, 45  
 Laḍāy (லடாய்), 60  
 Laḍḍū, 39  
 Lagām, 55  
 Lagānā, 60  
 Lāgū, 60  
 Lahāṇ (லகான்), 55  
 Lahāy (லகாய்), 60  
 Lāhu (லாகு), 60  
 Lā'iq, 60  
 Laiseṇsu (லைசென்சு), 62  
 Lakhōṭā, 45  
 Lakkōḍā (லக்கோடா), 45  
 Lālā (லாலா), 46  
 Lāndar (லாந்தர்), 43  
 Langar, 3, 56  
 Loṅgōḍu (லங்கோடு), 38  
 Laṅgōṭī, 38  
 Lāntal, 19f.  
 Lantern, 19f., 43  
 Laṛā'i, 60  
 Lāri (லாரி), 45  
 Lastar (லஸ்தர்), 43  
 Laṭhī, 55

Latti (லத்தி), 55  
 Laṭṭu (லட்டு), 39  
 Lāttu (லாத்து), 22  
 Lāvaṇi (லாவணி), 57  
 Lawyer, 52  
 Lāyakku (லாயக்கு), 60  
 Lāyam (லாயம்), 55  
 Lāyar (லாயர்), 52  
 Laymūn — tursh, 40  
 Leave, 62  
 Lēbil (லேபில்), 45  
 Lēdu, 8f.  
 Leilāo, 3, 50  
 Lemaneṭṭu (லெமனெட்டு), 41  
 Lemonade, 41  
 Lēnā-dēnā, 46  
 Lēṇi-dāraṇ (லேணிதாரன்), 25f.  
 Lessee, 25f.  
 Letṭar (லெட்டர்), 45  
 Letter, 45  
 Lēvādēvi (லேவாதேவி), 46  
 Lexical, 32  
 License, 62  
 Lim, 55  
 Livu (லீவு), 62  
 Lōcaṇai (லோசனை), 22  
 Lōlak, 37  
 Lōlaku (லோலக்கு), 37  
 Lōndu (லோந்து), 18f.  
 Lorry, 45  
 Lōṭā, 42  
 Lōṭṭā (லோட்டா), 42  
 Luṅgi (லுங்கி), 38  
 Luṅgi, 38  
 Luxuries, 44

## M

Mā (மா), 5  
 Maccam (மச்சம்), 33  
 Maccāṇ, (மச்சான்), 11  
 Maccham, 33  
 Maccīaṇ (மச்சினன்), 11, 14

- Machine, 43  
 Maḍamai (மடமை), 24  
 Maḍa-t-taṇam (மடத்தனம்), 24  
 Made over, 52  
 Madhya, 34  
 Maḍi (மடி), 7f.  
 Māḍi-kīḍi (மாடிகீடி), 26  
 Maḍu (மடு), 7f., 10  
 Maḍu-v-u (மடுவு), 10  
 Magistrate, 53  
 Maḥall, 41  
 Mahamal (மகமல்), 38  
 Mahamai (மகமை), 46  
 Mahāmm, 49  
 Māhāṇam (மாகாணம்), 53  
 Mahandu (மகந்து), 56  
 Mahant, 56  
 Mahāwat, 54  
 Maḥṣūl, 49  
 Māhtāb, 60  
 Maḥzar, 53  
 Mai (மை), 24  
 Maiccinan (மைச்சினன்), 14  
 Maidā (மைதா), 39  
 Maidāṇam (மைதானம்), 60  
 Mail, 62  
 Mail (மைல்), 47  
 Mainā, 60  
 Mainā (மைனா), 60  
 Mainar (மைனர்), 52  
 Maisūr-pāhu (மைசூர்பாகு), 39  
 Maittunan (மைத்துனன்), 11, 14  
 Major, 51  
 Māji (மாஜி), 53  
 Makaḷ (மகல்), 13  
 Makān, 53  
 Makhmal, 38  
 Mal (மல்), 38  
 Māl (மால்), 41  
 Malaināḍu (மலைநாடு), 2  
 Malayalam, 46  
 Mallāḍal (மல்லாடல்), 36  
 Malmal, 38  
 Mālumi (மாலுமி), 56  
 Mammaṭṭi (மம்மட்டி), 22  
 Mampattī (மம்பட்டி), 22  
 Ma'mūl, 49  
 māmūl (மாமூல்), 49  
 Māṇam (மானம்), 20, 25  
 Māṇāmārikkuḷam (மானாமாரிக் குளம்), 20f.  
 Maṇ-cuvar (மண்சுவர்), 31  
 Māṇḍ, 57  
 Māṇḍu (மாண்டு), 57  
 Maṅgistan, 40  
 Maṅgustāṇ (மங்குஸ்தான்), 40  
 Maṇiyāḍar (மணியாடர்), 45  
 Maṇiya-k-kāraṇ (மணியக்காரன்), 23f.  
 Mañjaṇai (மஞ்சளை), 18  
 Mañjaney (மஞ்சனெய்), 18  
 Mañji (மஞ்சி), 9  
 Mañju (மஞ்சு), 9  
 Maṇ-kuḍam (மண்குடம்), 31  
 Maṇṇāḍal (மன்னாடல்), 36  
 Maṇṇai (மன்னை), 4  
 Maṇṇicca (மன்னிச்சு), 14  
 Maṇṇitta (மன்னித்த), 14  
 Maṇṇuḷi (மண்ணுளி), 22  
 Maṇṇuṇi (மண்ணுணி), 22  
 Maṇṇāḍal (மன்றாடல்), 36  
 Māṇṇōl (மான்றோல்), 31  
 Maṇ-tāli (மண்தாழி), 31  
 Mān-tōl (மாந்தோல்), 31  
 maṇu-dār (மனுதார்), 25  
 Maṇvetṭi (மண்வெட்டி), 22  
 Maq'ta', 49  
 Marammat, 49  
 Marāmattu (மராமத்து), 49  
 Maram-kiram (மரம்கிரம்), 26  
 Marathi, 36  
 Mark, 61  
 Market, 46  
 Mārkkattū (மார்க்கட்டு), 46  
 Mārkkku (மார்க்கு), 61

- Mārṛu (மாற்று), 15  
 Marumakan (மருமகன்), 12f.  
 Marumam (மருமம்), 15  
 Marumāṇ (மருமான்), 12f.  
 Marūu (மருஉ), 29f.  
 Mārvāḍi (மார்வாடி), 22  
 Mārvāri (மார்வாரி), 22  
 Masālā (மசாலா), 39  
 Maṣāliḥ, 39  
 Māsar (மாசர்), 53  
 Masarā (மசரா), 49  
 Maṣjid, 56  
 Masōdā (மசோதா), 53  
 Masūdi (மசுதி), 56  
 Māsūl (மாசூல்), 49  
 Masūri (மசூரி), 15  
 Maṭ-cuvar (மட்சுவர்), 31  
 Maṭ-kuḍam (மட்குடம்), 31  
 Matsya, 33  
 Maṭṭāli (மட்டாழி), 31  
 Mattāppu (மத்தாப்பு), 60  
 Matti (மத்தி), 34  
 Māttu (மாத்து), 15  
 Mu'allim, 56  
 Mauna, 33  
 Mausū (மௌசு), 46  
 Mavaḷ (மவள்), 13  
 Māvu (மாவு), 5  
 Mavuṇḍu (மவுண்டு), 51  
 Māvuttan (மாவுத்தன்), 54  
 Mawj, 46  
 Mayda, 39  
 Maydān, 60  
 Mayyam (மய்யம்), 34  
 Māzī, 53  
 Maẓra', 49  
 Medal, 37  
 Meḍal (மெடல்), 37  
 Meccu (மெச்சு), 17  
 Medical, 35  
 Medicine, 57  
 Mēḍōvar (மேடோவர்), 52  
 Mēkki (மேக்கி), 17  
 Mēḷam (மேளம்), 10f.  
 Mēl-k-kaṇḍa (மேலக்கண்ட), 31f.  
 Mella (மெல்ல), 10  
 Meḷḷa (மெள்ள), 10  
 Mellicu (மெல்லிசு), 14  
 Mellitu (மெல்லிது), 14  
 Meḷugu (மெழுகு), 10  
 Membar (மெம்பர்), 62  
 Member, 62  
 Mēṇā (மேனா), 44  
 Mēñja (மேஞ்சு), 15  
 Menṇai (மென்னை), 4, 10  
 Merattu (மெரட்டு), 6  
 Mēṛkaṇḍa (மேற்கண்ட), 31f.  
 Mesa, 42  
 Mēsai (மேசை), 42  
 Mēsar (மேசர்), 51  
 Mēstiraṭṭu (மேஸ்திரட்டு), 53  
 Mēstiri (மேஸ்திரி), 46  
 Mestre, 46  
 Metathesis, 22  
 Meter, 43  
 Meyccu (மெய்ச்சு), 17  
 Meyil (மெயில்), 62  
 Mēyikki (மேய்க்கி), 17  
 Mēynda (மேய்ந்த), 15  
 Mēyñja (மேய்ஞ்சு), 15  
 Mēyṭal (மேய்தல்), 20  
 Mez, 42  
 Micai, (மீசை), 15  
 Mikundu (மிகுந்து), 13  
 Mil (மில்), 43  
 Miḷagu (மிளகு), 7  
 Mile, 47  
 Mill, 43  
 Miṇḍaṇ (மிண்டன்), 6  
 Mindiri (மிந்திரி), 9  
 Mīndu (மீந்து), 13  
 Minor, 52  
 Mirās-dār (மிராஸ்தார்), 25  
 Mirāsu (மிராசு), 49  
 Mīrāth, 49  
 Miraṭṭu (மிரட்டு), 6

- Miscellaneous, 58  
 Misi (மிசி), 61  
 Misiyaṇ (மிசியன்), 43  
 Miṣrī-pāk, 39  
 Miss, 61  
 Mitandu (மிதந்து), 7  
 Miṭhā, 39  
 Miticca (மிதிச்சு), 14  
 Mititta (மிதித்த), 14  
 Miṭṭar (மிட்டர்), 43  
 Miṭṭāy (மிட்டாய்), 6, 39  
 Miṭṭhā (மிட்டா), 49  
 Miyāna, 44  
 Miz, 42  
 Mocci (மொச்சி), 53  
 Mochī, 53  
 Modern European languages, 36  
 Mōḍu (மோடு), 13  
 Mohar (மொகர்), 53  
 Moharam (மொகரம்), 56  
 Mokaḍu (மொகடு), 13  
 Mokku (மொக்கு), 17f.  
 Mokkuḷ (மொக்குள்), 17f.  
 Moḷagu (மொளகு), 7  
 Moḷam (மொழம்), 8  
 Mōḷam (மோளம்), 10f.  
 Moḷḷa (மொள்ள), 10  
 Moḷugu (மொழுகு), 10  
 Mōna, 33  
 Mōṇam (மோனம்), 33  
 Money-order, 45  
 Monṇai (மொன்னை), 10  
 Mōr (மோர்), 12  
 Mōrai (மோரை), 12f.  
 Mōru (மோரு), 12  
 Motandu (மொதந்து), 7  
 Motor, 45  
 Mōṭṭār (மோட்டார்), 45  
 Mucal (முசல்), 17  
 Muccalikkā (முச்சலிக்கா), 49  
 Muchalkā, 49  
 Mucirū (முசிறு), 7  
 Mucurū (முசுறு), 7  
 Mudali (முதலி), 26f.  
 Mudali-y-ār (முதலியார்), 26f.  
 Mudaliyār-avāḷ (முதலியார்  
அவாள்), 27  
 Muḍiccu (முடுச்சு), 7  
 Muḍindu (முடிந்து), 13  
 Muḍiñju (முடிஞ்சு), 13  
 Muḍuccu (முடுச்சு), 7  
 Muḍukku (முடுக்கு), 13  
 Muhām (முகாம்), 49  
 Muḥammad, 56  
 Muhammad Husayn Nainar Dr. S,  
62f.  
 Muhammadu (முகம்மது), 56  
 Muḥarrām, 56  
 Muhimm, 46  
 Muhr, 53  
 Mukaḍu (முகடு), 13  
 Mukakkaḷai (முகக்களை), 19  
 Mukarai (முகரை), 12f.  
 Mukkaḍal (முக்கடல்), 9f.  
 Mūkkaṇ (முக்கன்), 17f.  
 Mukkaṭṭu (முக்கட்டு), 9f.  
 Mukku (முக்கு), 13  
 Mukkūḍal (முக்கூடல்), 9f.  
 Mukkūṭṭu (முக்கூட்டு), 9f.  
 Mukti, 33  
 Muḷ (முள்), 12  
 Mūlaikkaraippaṭṭi (மூலைக்கரைப்  
பட்டி), 19  
 Muḷam (முழம்), 8  
 Mūḷikkaraippaṭṭi (மூளிக்கரைப்  
பட்டி), 19  
 Muḷittal (முழித்தல்), 20  
 Muḷḷāṅgi (முள்ளாங்கி), 22  
 Muḷḷu (முள்ளு), 12  
 Muḷ-ḷu-c-ceḍi (முள்ளுச்செடி), 31  
 Muḷ-t-tāḷ (முள்ததாள்), 31  
 Muḷucu (முழுசு), 14  
 Muḷuṅgu (முழுங்கு), 20  
 Muḷutu (முழுது), 14  
 Mulvāṅgi (முள்வாங்கி), 22

Mūṇḍ, 38  
 Muṇḍaṇ (முண்டன்), 6  
 Muṇḍasu (முண்டாசு), 38  
 Mundiri (முந்திரி), 9  
 Muṇṇiṣi (முணிஷி), 53  
 Munisippu (முனிசிப்பு), 51  
 Mūñju (முஞ்சு), 13  
 Mūṇṇu (முன்னு), 16  
 Mūṇṇu (முண்ணு), 16  
 Mūṇṇu (முன்று), 16  
 Munshī, 53  
 Muṇṣif, 51  
 Mūṇu (முணு), 16  
 Musta'idd, 60  
 Mustippu (முஸ்திப்பு), 31f.  
 Mutalai (முதலை), 19  
 Mutaḷai (முதலை), 19  
 Mūṭali (முதலி), 19f.  
 Mūṭari (முதரி), 19f.  
 Mutarpeṇ (முதற்பெண்), 31f.  
 Muṭceḍi (முட்செடி), 31  
 Muṭṭāḷ (முட்டாளர்), 31  
 Mutal-p-peṇ (முதல்ப் பெண்), 31f.  
 Muṭṭāḷ-taṇam (முட்டாளர் தனம்)  
 24f.  
 Murabba, 34  
 Murappā (முரப்பா), 39  
 Musawwada, 53  
 Music, 56  
 Mūrkkāṇ (மூர்க்கன்), 17f.

## N

N (ன்), 15, 16, 32  
 N (ண்), 16f., 32  
 N (ந்), 14, 16, 32  
 N (ந்), 12  
 Nā (நா), 5  
 Nabī, 56  
 Naccinārkkiniyar, (நச்சினூர்க்  
 கினியர்), 2, 3  
 Nāḍā (நாடா), 33  
 Naḍa-k-kā-tu (நடக்காது), 30

Naḍa-k-kum (நடக்கும்), 30  
 Naḍa-v-ā-tu (நடவாது), 30  
 Naḍu (நடு), 34  
 Naḍu-matti (நடுமத்தி), 34  
 Naḍu-mayyam (நடு மய்யம்), 34  
 Naḍu-p-paṇa (நடுப்பற), 11  
 Naḍu-p-peṇa, (நடுப்பெற), 11  
 Nafar, 59  
 Nagna, 33  
 Nahadu (நகது), 49  
 Nahai-naṭṭu (நகைநட்டு), 35  
 Nahal (நகல்), 49  
 Naharā (நகரா), 59  
 Nahāsu (நகாசு), 37  
 Naisu (நைசு), 61  
 Nākal (நாகல்), 20  
 Nākappaḷam (நாகப்பழம்), 20  
 Nakarttu (நகர்த்து), 14  
 Nakaṭṭu (நகட்டு), 14  
 Nakka, 33  
 Nakkaṇ (நக்கன்), 33  
 Nakkīrar (நக்கீரர்), 1  
 Nālā, 38  
 Nāḷaikki (நாளைக்கி), 10  
 Nāḷaikki (நாளைக்கு), 10  
 Nāḷai-k-ku-varukirēṇ (நாளைக்கு)  
 வருகிறேன்), 30  
 Nāḷai-k-ku-varuvēṇ (நாளைக்கு  
 வருவேன்), 30  
 Nalaṅgu (நலங்கு), 5  
 Nallaṇ (நல்லன்), 3f.  
 Naluṅgu (நலுங்கு), 5  
 Nām (நாம்), 27  
 Nāmali (நாமலி), 32f.  
 Nambar (நம்பர்), 61  
 Nambar vaittal (நம்பர் வைத்  
 தல்), 52  
 Nammaitimmai (நம்மைதிம்மை),  
 22  
 Nammapaiyaṇ (நம்மபையன்),  
 27f.  
 Nammaviḍu (நம்மவிடு), 27f.  
 Nam-paiyaṇ (நம் பையன்), 27f.

- Namviḍu (நம் வீடு), 27f.  
 Nāṇ (நான்), 27  
 Nanas, 40  
 Nañcey (நன்செய்), 18  
 Nandiyāvarttam (நந்தியா  
வர்த்தம்), 14  
 Nandiyavattai (நந்தியாவட்டை),  
14  
 Nāṇḍu (நாண்டு), 16  
 Nāṅgaḷ (நாங்கள்), 27  
 Naṅguram (நங்குரம்), 3, 56  
 Nañjai (நஞ்சை), 18  
 Nañjey (நஞ்செய்), 18  
 Nāñjil nāḍu (நாஞ்சில் நாடு),  
17f.  
 Nāñjināḍu (நாஞ்சிநாடு), 17f.  
 Nāṇmai-tīmai (நன்மை தீமை),  
25  
 Naṇmai-tiṇmai (நன்மை தின்மை),  
22, 25  
 Naṇṇi (நன்னி), 16  
 Naṇṇi (நண்ணி), 16  
 Naṇṇi (நன்றி), 16  
 Nāṇṇu (நான்று), 16  
 Napar (நபர்), 59  
 Napi (நபி), 56  
 Naqāra, 59  
 Naqd, 49  
 Naql, 49  
 Naqsh, 37  
 Narkh, 46  
 Narukku-p-pirukku (நருக்குப்  
பிருக்கு), 34  
 Nāsar (நாசர்), 51  
 Nath, 37  
 Naṭṭai-naḍu (நட்டை நாடு), 35  
 Naṭṭu (நட்டு), 43  
 Nattu (நத்து), 37  
 Nāṭṭu (நாட்டு), 60  
 Nāṭṭukkōṭṭai Nagarattār, (நாட்டுக்  
கோட்டை நகரத்தார்), 10  
 Naught, 61  
 Nāval (நாவல்), 20  
 Navigation, 55  
 Nāvu (நாவு), 5  
 Navukkar (நவுக்கர்), 49  
 Nawār, 38  
 Nawkar, 49  
 Nāykki (நாய்க்கி), 10  
 Nāyku (நாய்க்கு), 10  
 Nāzir, 51  
 Nd (ந்த்), 24  
 Negative, 30  
 Nēkku (னேக்கு), 8  
 Nēḷḷai (னெள்ளை), 32f.  
 Neriñji (நெரிஞ்சி), 9  
 Nēriyal, 38  
 Nēriyal (நேரியல்), 38  
 Neruñji (நெருஞ்சி), 9  
 Ney (நெய்), 12  
 Neyyi (நெய்யி), 12  
 Nī (நீ), 27  
 Nib, 54  
 Niccam (நிச்சம்), 33  
 Nice, 61  
 Niggantha, 33  
 Ni-k-k-āṇ (நிக்கான்), 28f.  
 Nikkandaṇ (நிக்கந்தன்), 33  
 Ni-k-k-utu (நிக்குது), 28f.  
 Nīkku-p-pōkku (நீக்குப் போக்கு),  
35  
 Nilā, (நிலா), 5  
 Nilavu (நிலவு), 5  
 Nil-k-k-āḷ (நிலக்கான்), 28f.  
 Ni-k-k-āḷ (நிக்கான்), 28f.  
 Nil-k-k-āṇ (நிலக்கான்), 28f.  
 Nil-k-k-utu (நிலக்குது), 28f.  
 Nillāḷ (நில்லார்), 30  
 Nillān (நில்லான்), 30  
 Nillātu (நில்லாது), 30  
 Nīm (நீம்), 2, 3f.  
 Ninda (நீந்த), 15  
 Nīṅgaḷ (நீங்கள்), 27  
 Nīñja (நீஞ்ச), 15

- Nippu (நிப்பு), 54  
 Nīr (நீர்), 27  
 Nirakku (நிரக்கு), 46  
 Nirgrantha, 33  
 Nirka-māṭṭāḷ (நிற்கமாட்டான்), 30  
 Nirka-māṭṭāṇ (நிற்கமாட்டான்), 30  
 Nīrkh, 46  
 Nir-kir-āḷ (நிற்கிறான்), 28f.  
 Nir-kir-āṇ (நிற்கிறான்), 28f.  
 Nir-kir-atu (நிற்கிறது), 28f.  
 Nisār (நிசார்), 38  
 Nitya, 33  
 Nj (ஞ்ச்), 14  
 NN (ன்ன), 16  
 NṆ (ண்ண), 16  
 Nōka (நோக), 20  
 Noka-k-kāl (நோகக்கால்), 13, 22  
 Nō-k-kāḍu நோக்காடு), 25  
 Nōkkāl (நோக்கால்), 13, 22  
 Nōkku (நோக்கு), 8  
 Nōmbu (நோம்பு), 12  
 Nōṇpu (நோன்பு), 12  
 Norai (நொரை), 8  
 North Indian languages, 36  
 Note, 61  
 Notice, 51  
 Nōṭṭīsu (நோட்டீசு), 51  
 Nōṭṭu (நோட்டு), 61  
 Nouns, 23  
 Nōva (நோவ), 20  
 Nī (ன்ற்), 16  
 Nt (ண்ட்), 16  
 Nuka-k-kāl (நுகக்கால்), 13, 22  
 Number, 61  
 Number, 52  
 Nun (நுன்), 3, 3f.  
 Nūrru-v-ar (நூற்றுவர்), 26  
 Nūru-pēr (நூறுபேர்), 26  
 Nurai (நுரை), 8  
 Nut, 43  
 O (ஒ), 6, 8, 10, 10f., 11  
 Ōccan (ஒச்சன்), 20  
 Odai (ஒதை), 8  
 Oḍal (ஒடல்), 8  
 Ōḍu-kir-āḷ (ஒடுகிறான்), 29  
 Ōḍu-kir-āṇ (ஒடுகிறான்), 29  
 Ōḍu-kir-atu (ஒடுகிறது), 29  
 Ōḍu-r-āḷ (ஒடுறான்), 29  
 Ōḍu-r-āṇ (ஒடுறான்), 29  
 Ōḍu-r-atu (ஒடுறது), 29  
 Ōḍu-t-āḷ (ஒடுதான்), 29f.  
 Ōḍu-t-āṇ (ஒடுதான்), 29f.  
 Ōḍu-tu (ஒடுது), 29f.  
 Office, 52  
 Ogiru, 8f.  
 Okantāṇpaṭṭi (ஒகந்தான்பட்டி), 12f.  
 Olai (ஒலை), 8  
 Olaṅgu (ஒலங்கு), 5  
 Oḷavu (ஒளவு), 8  
 Oḷḷiyan (ஒள்ளியன்), 3f.  
 Oluṅgu (ஒலுங்கு), 5  
 Ombadu (ஒம்பது), 12  
 Onakku (ஒனக்கு), 8  
 Ondemand, 45  
 Onḍi (ஒண்டி), 16  
 Onḍu (ஒண்டு), 16  
 Onṇu (ஒண்ணு), 16  
 Onṇu (ஒண்ணு), 16  
 Onpadu (ஒன்பது), 12  
 Onṇri (ஒன்றி), 16  
 Onṇru (ஒன்று), 16  
 Ōntāṇpaṭṭi (ஒந்தான்பட்டி), 12f.  
 Operation, 57  
 Orai (ஒறை), 8  
 Oral (ஒரல்), 8f.  
 Oralu (ஒரலு), 8f.  
 Orange, 40  
 Ornaments, 36  
 Ōsaram (ஒசரம்), 62  
 Oṭṭāḍai (ஒட்டடை), 22

Ōṭṭal (ஓட்டல்), 61  
 Oṭṭarai (ஓட்டரை), 22  
 Ōṭṭu (ஓட்டு), 52  
 Ovaccan (ஒவச்சன்), 20  
 Ōval (ஒவல்), 40  
 Ovaltine, 40  
 Oyin (ஒயின்), 40

## P

P (ப), 15  
 Pā (பா), 5  
 Paccai-p-pasēr (பச்சைப்பசேர்), 35  
 Paccēri (பச்சேரி), 22  
 Pādām (பாதாம்), 39  
 Padam-pārttal (பதம்பார்த்தல்), 36  
 Padanīr (பதனீர்), 4  
 Pāḍi (பாடி), 3f., 38  
 Pādi (பாதி), 13  
 Paḍicca (படிச்ச), 14  
 Paḍigam (படிகம்), 33  
 Paḍiggaha, 33  
 Padil (பதில்), 60  
 Padimā, 33  
 Paḍimai (படிமை), 33  
 Padini (பதினி), 4  
 Padinīr (பதின்ரீர்), 4  
 Pādiri (பாதிரி), 56  
 Paḍitta (பதித்த), 14  
 Padre, 56  
 Paḍutā (படுதா), 43  
 Pāg, 38  
 Pāhai (பாகை), 38  
 Pahlawān, 55  
 Pahra, 54  
 Paimbolil (பைம்பொழில்), 11  
 Painḍu (பைண்டு), 61  
 Paisā (பைசா), 47  
 Paisal (பைசல்), 51  
 Paittiya-k-kāraṇ-taṇam (பைத்தியக்காரன் தனம்), 24f.

Paittiya-k-kārat-t-taṇam (பைத்தியக்காரத்தனம்), 24f.  
 Paiyā, 60  
 Pajji (பஜ்ஜி), 39  
 Pākal (பாகல்), 13  
 Pakaḷam (பகழம்), 20  
 Pākata, 33  
 Pākatam (பாகதம்), 33  
 Pakkā (பக்கா), 60  
 Pākkeṭṭu (பாக்கெட்டு), 38  
 Pākki (பாக்கி), 49  
 Pākki-cākki (பாக்கிசாக்கி), 34  
 Pakkiri (பக்கிரி), 56  
 Pakkōḍā (பக்கோடா), 39  
 Pakōṟā, 39  
 Pakudi (பகுதி), 13  
 Pal (பல்), 12  
 Pāl, 41  
 Pāl (பால்), 12  
 Palā (பலா), 4, 5  
 Palā-ilai (பலாஇலை), 30  
 Palam (பலம்), 4  
 Pālām (பாலம்), 41  
 Palatnā, 55  
 Palā-v-ilai (பலாவிலை), 30  
 Palavu (பலவு), 5  
 Palbu (பல்பு), 43  
 Pāli (பாழி), 32f.  
 Paḷiṅgu (பளிங்கு), 33  
 Pāliyam (பாலியம்), 15  
 Pallakku (பல்லக்கு), 33  
 Pallāṅguḷi (பல்லாங்குழி), 22  
 Pallaṇka, 33  
 Paḷḷikki (பள்ளிக்கி), 10  
 Paḷḷikku (பள்ளிக்கு), 10  
 Pallu (பல்லு), 12  
 Pal-lu-p-poḍi (பல்லுப்பொடி), 31  
 Paḷṭā, 60  
 Paḷṭi (பல்டி), 60  
 Paḷu (பளு), 10  
 Pālu (பாலு), 12  
 Paḷutai-k-kayaṟu (பழுதைக்கயறு), 34



- Paḷutai-k-kayirū (பழுதைக்கயிறு), 34  
 Paḷu-v-u (பளுவு), 10  
 Pambaiṁāsu (பம்பளிமாசு), 40  
 Pāmbaraṇai (பாம்பரணை), 18f.  
 Pāmbirāṇi (பாம்பிராணி), 18f.  
 Pambu (பம்பு), 43  
 Pambuḷi (பம்புளி), 11  
 Pammāttu (பம்மாத்து), 60  
 Pampelmoose, 40  
 Paṇai-kinai (பனைகினை), 26  
 Pāṇai-kinai (பானைகினை), 26  
 Paṇai-ōlai (பனைஒலை), 30  
 Paṇai-y-ōlai (பனையோலை), 30  
 Paṇa-k-kāri (பணக்காரி), 23f.  
 Paṇa-k-kāraṇ (பணக்காரன்), 23f.  
 Pāṇam (பாணம்), 15  
 Panc, 55  
 Pancāyat, 51  
 Pañchālicapatam (பாஞ்சாலி சபதம்), 29f.  
 Pandakam (பந்தகம்), 4  
 Pandi (பந்தி), 33  
 Pandōstu (பந்தோஸ்து), 49  
 Paṇḍu (பண்டு), 46  
 Pandya kings, 1  
 Paṅgā (பங்கா), 42  
 Paṅgaḷā (பங்களா), 41  
 Paṇi-koṇṭu (பனிகொண்டு), 2f.  
 Paṇittal (பணித்தல்), 2f.  
 Paṇittu (பணித்து), 2f.  
 Paṇivaḍai (பணிவடை), 7  
 Paṇiviḍai (பணிவிடை), 7  
 Paṇiyaṇ (பணியன்), 38  
 Pañjā (பஞ்சா), 55  
 Pañjāyattu (பஞ்சாயத்து), 51  
 Pañji (பஞ்சி), 10  
 Pañju (பஞ்சு), 10  
 Paṅkti, 33  
 Paṇṇai-k-kāraṇ (பண்ணைக்காரன்), 23f.  
 Paṇṇāṅgu kuḷi (பன்னாங்கு குழி), 22  
 Paṇṇāṅguḷi (பன்னாங்குழி), 22  
 Pantī, 33  
 Papa, 56  
 Papaya, 40  
 Pāper, 54  
 Pāpi (பாபி), 15  
 Pappāḷi (பப்பாளி), 40  
 Pappirameṇḍu (பப்பிரமெண்டு), 40  
 Pappu (பப்பு), 19, 19f.  
 Pāppu (பாப்பு), 17f., 56  
 Pārā (பாரா), 54  
 Paṛāmbu (பறம்பு), 5  
 Paṛāṅgi-p-paḷam (பறங்கிப் பழம்), 40  
 Paravā (பரவா), 60  
 Parda, 43  
 Paricil (பரிசில்), 17f.  
 Paricu (பரிசு), 17f.  
 Pār-k-k-āḷ (பார்க்காள்), 29  
 Pār-k-k-āṇ (பார்க்கான்), 29  
 Pār-k-kir-āḷ (பார்க்கிறான்), 29  
 Pār-k-kir-āṇ (பார்க்கிறான்), 29  
 Pār-k-kir-atu (பார்க்கிறது), 29  
 Pār-k-k-utu (பார்க்குது), 29  
 Parlāṅgu (பர்லாங்கு), 47  
 Paṛpoḍi (பற்பொடி), 31  
 Pārppu (பார்ப்பு), 17f.  
 Parti-graha, 33  
 Paṛumbu (பறும்பு), 5  
 Paruppi (பருப்பி), 39  
 Paruppu (பருப்பு), 19, 19f.  
 Parwā, 60  
 Paryāṅka, 33  
 Pasali (பசலி), 49  
 Pasand, 60  
 Paśār (பசார்), 46  
 Pāsi-pandu (பாசிபந்து), 37  
 Pass, 61  
 Pāsu (பாசு), 61  
 Pasundu (பசுந்து), 60  
 Paṭākā, 4  
 Paṭakai (படாகை), 4

- Paṭali, 37  
 Patanī (பதநீ), 16  
 Patanīr (பதநீர்), 16  
 Patarram (பதற்றம்), 16  
 Paṭasāle, 41  
 Patattam (பதட்டம்), 16  
 Paṭcēri (பட்சேரி), 22  
 Patini (பதநி), 16  
 Pāṭlā (பாட்டலா), 37  
 Paṭṭā (பட்டா), 49  
 Paṭṭadai (பட்டடை), 22  
 Paṭṭakasālai (பட்டகசாலை), 41  
 Paṭṭāḷam (பட்டாளம்), 54  
 Paṭṭāṇi (பட்டாணி), 39  
 Paṭṭa-p-pahal (பட்டப் பகல்), 35  
 Paṭṭarai (பட்டரை), 22  
 Paṭṭāsu (பட்டாசு), 22  
 Paṭṭi, 46  
 Pāṭṭil (பாட்டில்), 43  
 Paṭṭiyal (பட்டியல்), 46  
 Pāttu (பாத்து), 39  
 Paṭvāḍā (பட்டவாடா), 53  
 Pāva-k-kāri (பாவக்காரி), 23f.  
 Pāval (பாவல்), 13  
 Pavalam (பவழம்), 20  
 Pavan (பவன்), 9f., 47  
 Pāvattu (பாவத்து), 49, 60  
 Pāvi (பாவி), 15  
 Pāvu (பாவு), 5  
 Pavuṇḍu (பவுண்டு), 53  
 Pavusu (பவுசு), 60  
 Payaṇa, 33  
 Payaṇam (பயணம்), 33  
 Pāy-kir-āḷ (பாய்கிருள்), 29  
 Pāy-kir-āṇ (பாய்கிருள்), 29  
 Pāy-kir-atu (பாய்கிறது), 29  
 Pāy-r-āḷ (பாய்ருள்), 29  
 Pāy-r-āṇ (பாய்ருள்), 29  
 Pāy-r-atu (பாய்றது), 29  
 Paysā, 47  
 Pāy-t-āḷ (பாய்தாள்), 29f.  
 Pāy-t-āṇ (பாய்தான்), 29f.  
 Pāy-tu (பாய்து), 29f.  
 Pāy-u-tu (பாய்து), 29f.  
 Pear, 40  
 Pēḍā (பேடா), 39  
 Pēlai-p-peṭṭi (பேழைப் பெட்டி), 34  
 Pelam (பெலம்), 4  
 Pen, 54  
 Pena, 54  
 Pēṇā (பேனா), 54  
 Penayil (பெனயில்), 57  
 Pencil, 54  
 Pendakam (பெந்தகம்), 4  
 Pēṇi (பேணி), 39  
 Peñji (பெஞ்சி), 42  
 Pēn-ngān, 42  
 Penṣan (பென்ஷன்), 51  
 Penṣil (பென்சில்), 54  
 Pension, 51  
 Peon, 53  
 Pēppar (பேப்பர்), 54  
 Pepper-mint, 40  
 Pēr (பேர்), 18  
 Pēṛā, 39  
 Perai (பெறை), 6  
 Perai (பெரளி), 9f.  
 Perambu (பெரம்பு), 6  
 Pericu (பெரிசு), 8, 14  
 Peridu (பெரிது), 8  
 Pēri-k-kāy (பேரிக்காய்), 40  
 Peritu (பெரிது), 14  
 Periya-taṇam (பெரியதனம்), 24  
 Perṛam (பெற்றம்), 32f.  
 Persian, 3, 25, 34, 36, 58, 62f.  
 Pērtti (பேர்த்தி), 17  
 Pērttu (பேர்த்து), 18  
 Perucu (பெருசு), 8, 14  
 Peru-mai (பெருமை), 24  
 Perumakan (பெருமகன்), 12f.  
 Perumān (பெருமான்), 12f.  
 Pēsari (பேசரி), 37  
 Petition, 51  
 Petitioner, 25f.  
 Peṭṭai (பெட்டை), 10  
 Pēṭṭi (பேட்டி), 53

- Pētti (பேத்தி), 17  
 Peṭṭiṣaṇ (பெட்டிஷன்), 51  
 Pēttu (பேத்து), 18  
 Peyar (பெயர்), 18  
 Peyarttu (பெயர்த்து), 18  
 Phaeton, 45  
 Phalika, 33  
 Phāṇkā, 42  
 Phēṇi, 39  
 Phenyl, 57  
 Phonetic, 4  
 Piano, 57  
 Piccā-k-katti (பிச்சாக்கத்தி), 60  
 Pick-axe, 43  
 Piece, 61  
 Piḍam (பீடம்), 6f.  
 Piḍari (பிடரி), 6  
 Piḍi (பிடி), 6  
 Pidivi (பிதிவி), 53  
 Piḍuṅgu பிடுங்கு), 6  
 Pikkāsu (பிக்காசு), 43  
 Pīkku (பீக்கு), 17  
 Pilā (பிலா), 4  
 Pilai (பிழை), 6f.  
 Pilaiippu (பிழைப்பு), 6  
 Pilāṇ (பிளான்), 61  
 Pilāṇal (பிளானல்), 38  
 Pilāṭṭiṅgu (பிளாட்டிங்கு), 54  
 Pilavai (பிளவை), 7  
 Piji (பிழி), 6  
 Pili (பிலி), 9  
 Pilḷai (பிள்ளை), 6  
 Pilḷai-avāḷ (பிள்ளை அவர்கள்), 27  
 Pilḷai-mai (பிள்ளைமை), 24  
 Pilḷai-t-taṇam (பிள்ளைத்தனம்), 24  
 Pillākku (பில்லாக்கு), 37  
 Pil [lu] (பில்) [லு], 9  
 Pillu (பில்லு), 61  
 Pilukku (பிலுக்கு), 62  
 Piluṭṭu (பிலுட்டு), 38  
 Pin (பின்), 54  
 Piṇai (பிணை), 7  
 Piṇam (பிணம்), 7  
 Piṇāmi (பிணமி), 49  
 Piṅgāṇ (பிங்கான்), 42  
 Piṇi-y-āḷaṇ (பிணியாளன்), 23f.  
 Piṇi-y-aṇ (பிணியன்), 23f.  
 Pinṇai (பின்னை), 9  
 Piṇṇākkū (பிண்ணாக்கு), 6  
 Pipa, 43  
 Pippāy (பிப்பாய்), 43  
 Pīr (பீர்), 56  
 Pirādu (பிராது), 51  
 Pirai (பிறை), 6  
 Pirambu (பிரம்பு), 6  
 Pirāndi (பிராந்தி), 41  
 Pirāṅgi (பிரங்கி), 54  
 Piri (பிரி), 9  
 Pirinda (பிரிந்த), 14  
 Piriṇja (பிரிஞ்சு), 14  
 Pirittal (பிரித்தல்), 2f.  
 Pirkkā (பிர்க்கா), 53  
 Pīrkku (பீர்க்கு), 17  
 Pīrōl (பிரோல்), 42  
 Pisāṇam (பிசானம்), 49  
 Pisānamu, 49  
 Pisu (பிசு), 51, 61  
 Pisukkottu (பிசுக்கொத்து), 40  
 Piṭākai (பிடாகை), 4  
 Pittalāṭṭam-ceydaḷ (பித்தலாட்டம் செய்தல்), 36  
 Piṭṭaṇ (பிட்டன்), 45  
 Pitiāṇ (பித்தான்), 38  
 Piṭṭil (பிட்டில்), 57  
 Piṭṭu (பிட்டு), 6  
 Piyāṇā (பியாண), 57  
 Piyūṇ (பியூன்), 53  
 Plan, 61  
 Pleonasm, 33f., 34  
 Pōccu (போச்சு), 29  
 Pōccutu (போச்சுது), 29  
 Pocket, 38  
 Podaiyal (பொதையல்), 8  
 Poḍati (பொடதி), 6

Podu (பொது), 11  
 Pōdu (போது), 20  
 Pokai (பொகை), 8  
 Pokai-y-ilai (பொகையிலை), 13  
 Pō-kir-āḷ (போகிருள்), 29  
 Pō-kir-āṇ (போகிருன்), 29  
 Pō kir-atu (போகிறது), 29  
 Pō-k-kāḍu (போக்காடு), 25  
 Pokkaḷam (பொக்களம்), 22  
 Pōkkiri-cākkiri (போக்கிரி சாக்  
 கிரி), 34  
 Pōkkiri-t-taṇam (போக்கிரித்  
 தனம்), 24, 2f.  
 Pokku (பொக்கு), 19  
 Polaiippu (பொழைப்பு), 6  
 Pōla-p-potṭi (போழப்பொட்டி), 34  
 Poḷavai (பொளவை), 7  
 Pōḷdu (போழ்து), 20  
 Police, 53  
 Pōḷisu (போலீசு), 53  
 Political, 52  
 Poṇai (பொனை), 7  
 Pōṇai, (போனை), 18  
 Poṇal (பொளல்), 43  
 Poṇam (பொணம்), 7  
 Pōṇāy (போனாய்), 18  
 Poṇ-caraḍu (பொன் சரடு), 31  
 Poṇ-kiṇṇi (பொன் கிண்ணி), 31  
 Poṇakku (பொறக்கு), 9  
 Pō-r-āḷ (போரூள்), 29  
 Pō-r-āṇ (போரூன்), 29  
 Pō-r-atu (போரது), 29  
 Poṇ-caraḍu, (பொற்சரடு), 31  
 Pōrḍu (போர்டு), 61  
 Poriviḷaṅgāi (பொரி விளங்காய்),  
 7f.  
 Poṇ-kiṇṇi (பொற் கிண்ணி), 31  
 Pōrttal (போர்த்தல்), 2f.  
 Portuguese, 3, 36, 38f.  
 Poṇukku (பொறுக்கு), 9  
 Porukku (பொருக்கு), 19  
 Poruḷaṅgāi (பொருவிளங்காய்),  
 7f.

Pōst-āpīsu (போஸ்டாபீசு), 45  
 Post-office, 45  
 Poṭṭai (பொட்டை), 10  
 Pōttal (போத்தல்), 43f.  
 Pottāṇ (பொத்தான்), 38f.  
 Poṭṭu-p-poḍi (பொட்டுப் பொடி),  
 35  
 Pound, 9f. 47, 53  
 Pōyccu (போய்ச்சு), 29  
 Pōyiccu (போயிச்சு), 29  
 Pōyilai (போயிலை), 13  
 Pōy-irru (போயிறு), 29  
 Pōyittu (போயித்து), 29  
 Prakrit, 33  
 Prākṛta, 33  
 Pratimā, 33  
 Prayāṇa, 33  
 Pro-note (Promissory note), 51  
 Pṛthvī, 33  
 Pucal (புசல்), 17f.  
 Pūcaṇam (பூசனம்), 21  
 Pūcaṇi (பூசணி), 4  
 Pūciṇi (பூசினி), 4  
 Pudai (புதை), 2  
 Pudaittal (புதைத்தல்), 2f.  
 Pudaiyal (புதையல்), 8  
 Pūḍam (பூடம்), 6f.  
 Puḍavi (புடவி), 33  
 Puḍhavi, 33  
 Puḍi (புடி), 6  
 Pudicu (புதிசு), 8  
 Pudidu (புதிது), 8  
 Pudu (புது), 11  
 Puducu (புதுசு), 8  
 Puḍuṅgu (புடுங்கு), 6  
 Pudunīram (புதுநிறம்), 11  
 Pūḍusu (பூடுசு), 38  
 Puhār (புகார்), 51  
 Pukai (புகை), 8  
 Pukai-y-ilai (புகையிலை), 13  
 Pukār (புகார்), 22, 51  
 Pukundu (புகுந்து), 13  
 Pul, 41

Pūjai (பூழை), 6f.  
 Pulāo, 39  
 Pulāv (புலாவ்), 39  
 Puli (புலி), 9  
 Puḷi (புழி), 6  
 Pūḷi-nāḍu (பூழிநாடு), 32f.  
 Puḷḷai (புள்ளை), 6  
 Pullanai (புல்லனை), 18f.  
 Pullāṇi (புல்லாணி), 18f.  
 Pul [lu] (புல்)(லு), 9  
 Pullu-t-tarai (புல்லுத்தரை), 31  
 Pul-nuṇi (புல்லுனி), 32  
 Puḷu (புழு), 10  
 Puḷḷuṭṭu (புளுட்டு), 57  
 Puḷu-v-u (புழுவு), 10  
 Pump, 43  
 Pūṇal (பூணல்), 9f.  
 Puṇcey (புன்செய்), 12  
 Pūndi (பூந்தி), 39  
 Pūndu (பூந்து), 13  
 Puṇḡu (புங்கு), 12  
 Puṇjai (பஞ்சை), 12  
 Pūṇjaṇam (பூஞ்சணம்), 21  
 Puṇjey (புஞ்செய்), 12  
 Puṇku (புன்கு), 12  
 Puṇṇai (புண்ணை), 9  
 Puṇṇāḱku (புண்ணாக்கு), 6  
 Puṇṇuṇi (புன்னுனி), 32  
 Pūṇḷ (பூணூல்), 9f.  
 Pūrā (பூரா), 60  
 Puṟā (புரு), 5  
 Puraḷi (புரளி), 9f.  
 Puṟavu (புறவு), 5  
 Puri (புரி), 9  
 Pūri (பூரி), 39  
 Purō-nōṭṭu (புரோனோட்டு), 51  
 Puṟṟarai (புற்றரை), 31  
 Puruḍā (புருடா), 62  
 Pusal-kāttu (புசல்காத்து), 34  
 Pūsi-maḷuppal (பூசிமழுப்பல்), 36  
 Puṭānā, 39  
 Puṭicu (புதிசு), 14  
 Putitu (புதிது), 14

Puṭṭā (புட்டா), 38, 60  
 Puttam-pudu (புத்தம்புது), 35  
 Puṭṭu (புட்டு), 6  
 Putucu (புதுசு), 14  
 Puyal (புயல்), 17f.  
 Puyal-kāṟru (புயல்காற்று), 34  
 Pydā (பைதா), 60

## Q

Qā'im, 48  
 Qal'ī, 58  
 Qamiṣ, 37  
 Qānūn-gō, 48  
 Qarār, 45  
 Qarṭās, 45  
 Qaṣbā, 52  
 Qaṣr, 45  
 Qaṣṣāb, 45  
 Qawāyid, 55  
 Qawl, 48  
 Qawwāl, 58  
 Qayd, 48  
 Qaydī, 51  
 Qīr, 43  
 Qirrāt, 47  
 Qist, 48  
 Quabb, 43  
 Quinine, 57  
 Quire, 47  
 Qurān, 56

## R

R (r), 14f., 16, 18, 19, 21, 29f.  
 R (ṛ), 15, 16, 18f.  
 RR (ṛṛ), 15, 16  
 Radd, 52  
 Ragaḷe, 62  
 Rahaḷai (ரகளை), 62  
 Raham (ரகம்), 46  
 Rahat, 43  
 Rahkalā, 45  
 Rail, 45

- Ra'iyat, 50  
 Rajā, (ரஜா), 53  
 Rākḥri, 37  
 Rākkaḍi (ராக்கடி), 37  
 Raṇḍu (ரண்டு), 22  
 Rāṅgi (ராங்கி), 62  
 Rank, 62  
 Rāntal (ரான்தல்), 19., 43f.  
 Rappar (ரப்பர்), 54  
 Rapattā (ரப்பட்டா), 50  
 Raqm, 46, 50  
 Rāsi (ராசி), 52  
 Rasid, 50  
 Rasīdu (ரசீது), 50  
 Rastā (ரஸ்தா), 60  
 Raṭl, 47  
 Rāttal (ராத்தல்), 47  
 Rāṭṭu (ராட்டு), 43  
 Rattu (ரத்து), 52  
 Rāut, 55  
 Ravā, 39  
 Ravai (ரவை), 39  
 Ravēs (ரவேஸ்), 44  
 Rāvuttan (ராவுத்தன்), 26f., 55  
 Rāvuttar (ராவுத்தர்), 26f.  
 Rawanda, 53  
 Rawish, 44  
 Rayattu (ரயத்து), 50  
 Rayil (ரயில்), 45  
 Rāzī, 52  
 Ready money, 49  
 Ream, 47  
 Receipt, 50  
 Record, 52  
 Red, 34  
 Reduplications, 33f., 34  
 Register, 45  
 Rēkkiḷa (ரேக்கிளா), 45  
 Rēkku (ரேக்கு), 44  
 Religion, 56  
 Reṇḍu (ரெண்டு), 22  
 Repair, 62  
 Revenue, 47  
 Revolver, 55  
 Register, 45  
 Rigistar (ரிஜிஸ்தர்), 45  
 Rikkāḍu (ரிக்காடு), 52  
 Rikṣā (ரிக்ஷா), 45  
 Rīm (ரீம்), 47  
 Rippēr (ரிப்பேர்), 62  
 Rivālvar (ரிவால்வர்), 55  
 Rizā, 53  
 Rizma, 47  
 Road, 62  
 Road-mēstiri, 46f.  
 Rōcanai (ரோசனை), 22  
 Rōkkā (ரோக்கா), 52  
 Rokkam (ரொக்கம்), 50  
 Rōlu, 8f.  
 Rōndu (ரோந்து), 18f. 53  
 Rōṭi, 40  
 Roṭṭi (ரொட்டி), 40  
 Roṭṭi-k-kiḍangu, 46f.  
 Rōṭṭu (ரோட்டு), 62  
 Rough-pattā, 50  
 Rubber, 54  
 Rujū, 52  
 Rūl (ரூல்), 52  
 Rule, 52  
 Rūmāl, 3, 37  
 Ruq'a, 52  
 Rusu (ரூசு), 52

## S

- Ṣāf, 59  
 Sahalan (சகலன்), 58  
 Sāhanā, 57  
 Sahāṇā (சகாணா), 57  
 Sāhib, 59  
 Sāhūkar, 46  
 Sālā, 58., 58f.  
 Salad (fruit-salad), 41  
 Salām (சலாம்), 58

- Salis, 58  
 Sallisu (சல்லிசு), 58  
 Sālsāppu (சால்சாப்பு), 59  
 Sāmān, 59  
 Sāmbhār, 39  
 Samprati, 52  
 Sāmraṇi, 44  
 Sanad, 52  
 Sandaḍi, 62  
 Sandhi (சந்தி), 28  
 Saṅgam (சங்கம்), 1  
 Sankaranamaccivāyar (சங்கர நமச்சிவாயர்), 2f.  
 Sanskrit, 3, 25, 33, 36  
 Sapato, 38  
 Sapodilla, 40  
 Saqallāt, 37  
 Sārā, 59  
 Ṣarā (ஷரா), 50  
 Sarāsari, 48  
 Sardār, 54  
 Sar-ḥadd, 48  
 Sārī, 37  
 Sarkar, 52  
 Ṣarrāf, 46  
 Sarrishtadar, 49  
 Satānā, 53  
 Śāvaka, 33  
 Sāybu (சாய்பு), 59  
 Screw, 42  
 Scal, 53  
 Semi-vowels, 16  
 Sēsu (சேசு), 56  
 Settlement, 49  
 Sevayā, 39  
 SewaIn, 39  
 Shād-bāsh, 59  
 Shāl, 37  
 Shar', 50  
 Shara'i, 37  
 Sharbat, 41  
 Sharṭ, 49  
 Shawq, 61  
 Shayṭān, 59  
 Shed, 41  
 Shirt, 38  
 Shop, 94  
 Shuhadā, 59  
 Shumār, 59  
 Sibārsu (சிபார்சு), 59  
 Sick, 3, 57  
 Sīha, 33  
 Sih-bandī, 53  
 Sih-pāe, 42  
 Sih-tār, 56  
 Simha, 33  
 Sipāhī, 54  
 Sipārish, 59  
 Sippāy (சிப்பாய்), 54  
 Ṣippī, 33  
 Sitāphal, 40  
 Sittār (சித்தார்), 56  
 Slate, 43  
 Sliba, 56  
 Soap, 44  
 Soda, 41  
 Soḍḍu, 62  
 Sofa, 42  
 Ṣōkku (ஷோக்கு), 61  
 Sōnṭā, 54  
 Sōpā (சோபா), 42  
 Sosti (சொஸ்தி), 59  
 Spades, 55  
 Sphaṭika, 33  
 Squalat, 37  
 Śrāvaka, 33  
 Stationery, 54  
 Steel nib, 54  
 Sṭīl (ஸ்டீல்), 54  
 Su'al, 59  
 Su'al-jawāb, 59  
 Sūbadār, 54  
 Sub-pro-temp, 52  
 Ṣuffāḥ, 42

Suit, 38  
 Sūji, 39  
 Sukkān, 55  
 Śukti, 33  
 Sulka, 3  
 Śulka, 33  
 Sumār (சுமார்), 59  
 Summons, 51  
 Śunaka, 21  
 Sundry Articles, 42  
 Suṅgam (சங்கம்), 3  
 Suṅka, 33  
 Sunna, 33  
 Śūnya, 33  
 Superintendent, 53  
 Superiors, 27  
 Sustī, 59  
 Suwārī, 54  
 Swaminatha Iyer, U. V., Dr.,  
 1f., 21f.  
 Syttān (சைத்தான்), 59

## T

Ṭ (ட), 13, 18f.  
 T (த்), 14, 29f.  
 Tabl, 15  
 Tabl, 57  
 Tabla, 57  
 Tāḍai (தாடை), 20  
 Taḍi (தடி), 21  
 Tādi (தாதி), 33  
 Taḍi-kiḍi (தடிகிடி), 26  
 Tāḍi-kiḍi (தாடிகிடி), 26  
 Tafṣil, 49  
 Tahan [tān] (தகன்[தான்]), 59  
 Taharār (தகரார்), 51  
 Tahatā (தகதா), 51  
 Tahaval (தகவல்), 59  
 Taḥṣil, 49  
 Tai (டை), 38  
 Taikkā (தைக்கா), 56  
 Tailors, 23f.

Tājā (தாஜா), 59  
 Takappaṇ (தகப்பன்), 12f.  
 Ta'kid, 49, 53  
 Tākkal (தாக்கல்), 49  
 Tākkidu (தாக்கீது), 49  
 Tākkītu (தாக்கீது), 53  
 Takrār, 51  
 Takku (டக்கு), 44  
 Takya, 56  
 Ta'alluq, 53  
 Talaiyaṇai (தலையணை), 18f.  
 Talaiyaṇi (தலையாணி), 18f.  
 Talam (தலம்), 19f.  
 Taḷam (தளம்), 19f.  
 Tālāṭṭu (தாலாட்டு), 19f.  
 Taḷṭai (தள்ளை), 32f.  
 Taḷḷu-kir-āḷ (தள்ளுகிருள்), 22  
 Taḷḷu-kir-ān (தள்ளுகிருன்), 29  
 Taḷḷu-kir-atu (தள்ளுகிறது), 29  
 Taḷḷu-r-āḷ (தள்ளுருள்), 29  
 Taḷḷu-r-ān (தள்ளுருன்), 29  
 Taḷḷu-r-atu (தள்ளுறது), 29  
 Taḷḷu-t-āḷ (தள்ளுதாள்), 29f.  
 Taḷḷu-t-ān (தள்ளுதான்), 29f.  
 Taḷḷu-tu (தள்ளுது), 29f.  
 Tālppāḷ (தாழ்ப்பாள்), 17, 20  
 Tālukā (தாலுகா), 53  
 Tam (தம்), 59  
 Tamāṣ (தமாஷ்), 59  
 Tamāshā, 59  
 Tāmbaram (தாம்பரம்), 21  
 Tambiḍi (தம்பிடி), 47  
 Tambūr (தம்பூர்), 56  
 Tamiḷar (தமிழர்), 42  
 Tāmiram (தாமிரம்), 21  
 Tamukku (தமுக்கு), 51  
 Tampatṭam (தம்பட்டம்), 40  
 Tan (டன்), 47  
 Tānā (டானா), 54  
 Tānā (தானா), 54  
 Tanam (தனம்), 24  
 Tanbūr, 56



